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THE CHRONICLE OF THOMAS OF ECCLESTON

THE CHRONICLE OF THOMAS OF ECCLESTON

"*De Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam*"

BX
3616
T5
1909

NEWLY DONE INTO ENGLISH
WITH PREFACE AND NOTES

BY

FATHER CUTHBERT, O.S.F.C.

Thomas, of Eccleston, fl. 1250
II

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In the sweetness of our Lord and Saviour
Jesus Christ
his Brother Thomas wishes his well-beloved Father

BROTHER SIMON OF ASHBY

the consolation of the Holy Spirit

Every worthy man ought to judge of his own life by the example of his betters, for oftentimes example will touch the heart when words fail. Therefore that you may have something of your own wherewith to encourage your beloved sons; and that they also who have renounced so many and such great things, nay, even themselves, for the sake of entering into our State and our Order—that they, too, when they read or hear of the wonderful things done in other Orders, may have something whereby they will be no less edified in their own vocation; and that, moreover, they may give unfailing thanks to Him, the sweet Jesus who has called them: therefore, Father Beloved in the sweet Jesus, I dedicate to you these chronicles which it has been my joy to gather together from the lips of my beloved fathers and brothers during twenty-five years: to the honour of Him in whom God the Father is well pleased, the most sweet Christ, our Lord and God.

NOTE

In offering the present English version of *Eccleston's Chronicle* to the reader some word of explanation is perhaps necessary. The translation given in my book *The Friars and How they came to England* was made with a view to popular reading rather than for the critical student. The rendering therefore was sometimes more free than it might have been. Moreover I have to confess to several actual errors in the translation, concerning which I can only say: *Mea culpa.* But I wish to thank the courteous critic who pointed out these errors to me. The present version will I trust meet with his approval. My thanks are also due to those friends who have assisted me by the loan of books, and in other ways, and especially to my *confrère*, Fr. Benedict, who kindly undertook to revise the proof-sheets during my absence from England.

Fr. C.

Crawley,
1909.

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PREFACE

THE coming of the Friars Minor, or Franciscan Friars, to England, in the year 1224, was an event of no mean importance in the religious and social life of the nation. They came at a critical period in the national development, when a new force had entered into the political arena with the growth of the towns in wealth and civic power, and when for the first time since the Conquest a national consciousness was asserting itself, challenging at once the absolutism of the Crown and the feudal power of the barons. So great a political and social movement could not be without vital influence upon the religious life of the people. The unrest which it engendered in men's minds, and the intense concentration upon secular affairs which it implied, would alone tend to bring about a certain indifference in matters of religion. But there were certain positive elements at work which were weakening the hold of religion upon the people's life. The intercourse with the East, begun with the Crusaders, and the rapid growth of trade, was fostering amongst the wealthier

classes a spirit of luxury and self-indulgence. At the same time, too much concern for secular affairs, and the dead hand of formalism, had weakened the spiritual life of the clergy. One must however beware of exaggerating the spiritual evil of the time. A certain allowance must be made in accepting the judgments of men like Bishops Grosseteste and Adam Marsh, who judged the actual condition of things by their own high ideals; nor can one accept the statements of satirists like Walter de Map and Chaucer as a true estimate of the prevailing morality. All evidence goes to show that the faith of the people was sound: the very reception accorded to the Friars at their coming, by all classes of the people, is proof of this. At the same time it must be acknowledged that conduct did not march with faith: a spirit of worldliness was rampant, and even religion was in large measure made subservient to temporal interests. Yet it was a time of large ideals and of intense purpose: always a saving element in human affairs. Men were quick to appreciate the heroic and the strenuous whether in the service of God or of the world. All these elements in the national character went to securing the immediate success of the Friars. Their absolute poverty and renunciation of secular power appealed to the faith and idealism of the people,

even whilst it was a direct rebuke of the prevalent worldliness.[1]

Of their immediate popularity there is no question. Within seven years they were received and provided for at Canterbury, London, Oxford, Northampton, Cambridge, Norwich, Salisbury, Gloucester, Worcester, Nottingham, Lincoln, Lichfield, and Stamford. By 1256—that is, thirty-two years after their arrival—they had in the English Province forty-nine houses, in which dwelt 1242 friars.[2] For the most part the houses and grounds of the Friars were provided by the citizens or townsmen, but in not a few instances the Friars owed much to the bounty of the King. Henry III. in fact showed both the Friars Minor and the Friars Preachers marked favour. He made the Friars Minor grants of wood from the royal forests both for fuel and building purposes[3];

[1] I have elsewhere attempted to analyse the character and influence of the Franciscan Friars in my essay on "The Spirit and Genius of the Franciscan Friars," in *The Friars and How they came to England.* On the same subject see Brewer's Preface to *Mon. Franc.* i.; Howlett's Preface to *Mon. Franc.* ii.; Jessop, *The Coming of the Friars.*

[2] Eccleston, *ut infra*, p. 13.

[3] *Patent Rolls Hen. III.*, ad an. 1232, m. 7; *Close Rolls*, ad an. 1229, m. 12; an. 1231; an. 1230, m. 13 and m. 18; an. 1231, m. 19 and m. 12; an. 1232, m. 8; an. 1234, m. 25 and m. 17, etc.; *Liberate Rolls*, ad an. 1233, m. 6; an. 1239, m. 10; an. 1240, m. 13, etc.

he provided them with grey stuff for the making of their habits [1]; at Shrewsbury and Bridgewater he gave them ground to build on [2]; at Southampton he built the chapel [3]; at Cambridge and Winchester he bought for them the lease of ground, and at Nottingham he made himself responsible for rent due for the Friars' place [4]; at Oxford, Chichester, Lincoln, and Winchester he allowed the Friars to enclose Crown land and to open gates in the city walls for their greater convenience.[5] Nevertheless it remains true that the citizens or townsmen were the principal benefactors of Friars. In London the Friars owed their house chiefly to the generosity of the mercer, John Iwyn; their chapel was built for them by William Joyner, who was Lord Mayor in 1239; other notable citizens provided the infirmary, aqueduct, the school, and other buildings.[6] At Oxford, Robert the Mercer is their first friend and

[1] *Liberate Rolls Hen. III.*, ad an. 1239, m. 6 and m. 3 (*cfr.* Little, *Grey Friars in Oxford*, p. 4); *Patent Rolls*, ad an. 1245, m. 2.

[2] Eccleston, *ut infra*, p. 29; *Patent Rolls*, ad an. 1246, m. 3.

[3] Eccleston, *ut infra*, p. 103.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 28; *Close Rolls*, ad an. 1238, m. 12; *Patent Rolls*, ad an. 1235, m. 4; an. 1237, m. 8.

[5] *Patent Rolls*, ad an. 1245, m. 9; an. 1252, m. 21; an. 1258, m. 2; *Charter Rolls*, ad an. 1258, m. 1.

[6] Eccleston, *ut infra*, p. 26; *Registrum FF. Min. Londoniæ*, in *Mon. Franc.* i. p. 493 *seq.* *Vide infra*, Appendix III. p. 146.

Richard the Miller their chief benefactor.[1] At Cambridge the burgesses gave the Friars on their arrival the use of an old synagogue[2]; at Shrewsbury "the church was built by a burgess, Richard Pinde, and the other offices by a burgess named Lawrence."[3] At the same time, as showing the widespread devotion with which the Friars were received, it is noteworthy that the clergy and nobles also figure amongst their benefactors. At Canterbury their first benefactors were Alexander, Master of the Priests' Hospice, Simon of Longton, Archdeacon of Canterbury, Sir Henry of Sandwich, and the Lady Inclusa de Baginton.[4] At Oxford amongst those who gave ground to the Friars was Archdeacon Mepham.[5] At Gloucester the principal benefactor was Sir Thomas Berkeley.[6] Amongst the benefactors of the London house we find the prior and convent of St Bartholomew in Smithfield and the prioresses of Holywell and Clerkenwell.[7] Here and there however we come across instances of opposition on the part both of the clergy and monks and of the laity. At Chester, when the

1 Eccelston, *ut infra*, p. 28. *Vide infra*, Appendix III. p. 151.
2 Eccleston, *ut infra*, p. 28.
3 *Ibid.* p. 29.
4 *Ibid.* p. 26.
5 Wood, *City of Oxford* (ed. Clark), p. 352.
6 Eccleston, *ut infra*, p. 61.
7 *Registrum FF. Min. Lond.* ut supra.

Friars first came there, the Bishops of Coventry and Lichfield publicly protested against their settling in that town, and thereby drew from Bishop Grosseteste a letter of rebuke.[1] At Scarborough and Bury St Edmunds the monks opposed their coming, and succeeded in having their houses in those towns removed outside the jurisdiction of the respective abbeys.[2] At Reading, where the monks gave the Friars land, they seem to have done so unwillingly, and in deference to royal and papal influence.[3] These are instances of that suspicion and rivalry which one would expect on the part of long-established communities towards a new society seeking entrance within their jurisdiction.[4] Other instances however there are which show the Friars meeting with contempt and ill-usage simply because of their poverty and manner of life. Eccleston himself relates how when a certain Friar came to the house of his sister to beg an alms, she turned

[1] Cfr. *Grosseteste*, *Epist.* xxxiv. (Roll Series), p. 120.

[2] *Vide infra*, Appendix IV. p. 158.

[3] *Vide infra*, Appendix III. p. 155.

[4] One cause of ill-will on the part of the older monastic establishments towards the Friars was the frequent passing of members of these establishments into the new orders. Cfr. *Annales de Dunstaplia*, ad an. 1233 (Roll Series), pp. 133-134; Peckham, *Regist.* iii. pp. 838-840. See also the case of William Pershore, a Benedictine monk who became a Friar Minor, in *Mon. Franc.* ii. pp. 31-62.

away her face and cursed him.[1] Other instances of contempt and hardships are recorded in the *Chronicle of Lanercost* and by Bartholomew of Pisa.[2] But all these stories relate to the very earliest days, when the Friars were yet strangers, and people, judging only by their appearance, were inclined to regard them as mummers or fools. No sooner were they established in a place than they won both reverence and affection from the people at large.

An even greater evidence of their popularity and influence than the rapid increase of settlements are the numbers and character of the novices who joined the Order. The first novices received by Brother Agnellus were of the citizen class; some of them, such as William the Tailor, Joyce of Cornhill, and Gilbert of Wyke,[3] were either personally or by family of some standing in the community. It is probable that the greater number of the Friars, at least during the time covered by *Eccleston's Chronicle*, were sprung from well-to-do burgher families, such as filled the ranks of the universities. The settlement of the Friars at Oxford and Cambridge very soon attracted to them graduates from the schools. Alexander

[1] Eccleston, *ut infra*, p. 14.
[2] *Vide infra*, Appendix II. p. 137.
[3] Eccleston, *ut infra*, p. 19.

of Hales, the famous English Master in the university of Paris, had already entered the Order in that city,[1] and doubtless this fact gained for the Friars at their coming to Oxford and Cambridge the respect of the leaders in the universities, for Alexander's fame was supreme. Other well-known English Masters at Paris had speedily followed Alexander's example, notably Haymo of Faversham, who was afterwards Provincial of England, and in 1240 Minister-General.[2] But before 1230 a number of graduates of the university entered the Order at Oxford, and amongst them was Adam Marsh,[3] already a man of note and the familiar friend of Grosseteste. The entrance of these masters, says Eccleston, added fame to the Order. They were the beginning of that long line of Franciscan masters and readers whose fame throughout the Catholic world was at once a glory to their Order and to the schools with which they were connected. Whilst however the towns and the universities supplied the majority of the novices, others came from well-known families on the land. Thus amongst the early English Friars we find a de Normanville, a

1 He entered the Order in 1222 (*cf.* Wadding, *Annales*, ad an. 1222).

2 *Vide infra*, p. 35.

3 *Ibid.* p. 23.

Gobion, a de Walpole,[1] and a Gernegan.[2] Then too the clerical order and the abbeys sent recruits. Brother Philip of London, one of the first novices, was a priest. An abbot of Osney became a Friar Minor in 1235[3] and in 1239 Ralph, Bishop of Hereford,[4] followed the abbot's example. Thus the *personnel* of the Order equally with its foundations, testifies to the devotion of all classes in the nation towards the new Order.

Many causes went to make this popularity. Their poverty, as we have said, appealed to the religious sentiment and idealism of the people. Then there was their enthusiasm and their zeal for the spiritual and even temporal welfare of their neighbour. Their activity was manifold. In almost every sphere of national life their influence

[1] Eccleston, *ut infra*, pp. 25, 68.

[2] Brother John de Gernegan, a Friar Minor, is mentioned in *Patent Rolls Hen. III.*, ad an. 1233, m. 6, as obtaining a pardon from the King for his brother who had killed a de Bosco. The Gernegans had estates in Yorkshire (*cfr.* Camden's *Britannia* (ed. Gibson), p. 760). The Gobions were a Hertford family (*ibid.* p. 294). The Walpoles were seated in Norfolk and Cambridgeshire (*ibid.* pp. 392 and 412). A Sir Gerard de Normanville was keeper of the forest of Shirewood under the Conqueror (*ibid.* p. 484, note 9). He also held lands under the Count of Eu, at Hove, in Sussex, according to the Domesday Survey (cfr. *Victoria History of Sussex*, i. pp. 381 and 395*b*).

[3] *Vide infra*, p. 25.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 108; App. II. 143.

was felt. The leading part taken by the Friars, both Franciscan and Dominican, at the universities is so well known that it requires but a passing reference in this place[1]; but it is noteworthy that most of the great Franciscan schoolmen were Englishmen. In fact in no other province of the Order does the zeal for learning seem to have been such a passion as in the English Province. Not only had the Friars schools at Oxford and Cambridge, but also at Hereford, Leicester, Bristol, London, and Canterbury,[2] and probably in other places too. In order to provide readers, or lectors, for these schools, a constant succession of students were kept at the universities, who were to take the place in the schools of the actual readers as occasion required.[3] In the time of William of Nottingham, Minister-Provincial from 1240 to 1254, there were thirty actual readers in the province.[4] Moreover they were called upon to provide readers for the schools in other provinces. Thus Brother Philip of Wales and Brother Adam of York were sent by order of the Minister-

[1] *Cfr.* Little, *Grey Friars in Oxford*; Wood, *University of Oxford*, book i.; Brewer's Preface in *Mon. Franc.* i.; Denifle, *Die Universitäten.*

[2] Eccleston, *ut infra*, p. 67.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 68.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 68.

General, Elias, to read divinity at Lyons[1]; at another time English readers were sent to Paris.[2] The learning pursued by the Friars was that scholastic science about which so much has been written in later times both in praise and dispraise; but the names of Roger Bacon and Thomas Bungay stand as a foreshadowing of the later experimental science, and though the scholastic method maintained itself in the schools in spite of Bacon's denunciations, yet his influence undoubtedly made itself felt amongst the Franciscans who came after him.[3]

But the Friars were first and foremost men of action, not merely schoolmen. As preachers and confessors, they gained at the same time the confidence of the nation at large and the ill-will of those who saw their own influence overshadowed by these new evangelists. The first

[1] Eccleston, *ut infra*, p. 67.

[2] *Adæ de Mar. Epist.* cxcvii. in *Mon Franc.* i. p. 35.

[3] *Cfr.* Little, *Grey Friars in Oxford*, p. 195, note 4. See also P. Raymond, *La Théorie de l'Induction* in *Études Franciscaines*, tom. xxi. Nos. 122, 123, upon Duns Scotus as a precursor of Francis Bacon.

Adam Marsh makes mention of Brother Adam de Hekeshovre and Brother A. de Bechesoueres as physicians in whom he has great confidence (vide *Epist.* pp. 137, 320, 333, 388, 405); but whether they were physicians before they entered the Order, or whether they studied medicine in the Order, I do not know.

Friars to be regularly commissioned to preach were Brothers Hugh of Baldock, Philip of Longton, and William of Ashby.[1] This Brother William was the first Guardian of Oxford, and was perhaps one of the two Friars who went out "to sow the saving seed of the Lord" on Christmas day, the story of which adventure is graphically told in the *Lanercost Chronicle*.[2] Haymo of Faversham was a noted preacher as well as a famous schoolman, even before his entrance into the Order, and his influence seems to have stirred the English Friars to even greater apostolic zeal.[3] Notwithstanding their scholastic pursuits, the Friars were popular preachers. Their discourses were cast not in the abstruse language of the schools, but in the homely phrase of everyday life: they appealed directly to the feelings and imaginations of the people; their sermons were frequently illustrated with pithy stories and parables.[4] As confessors, too, they became in great demand. Brother Solomon, according to Eccleston, "was the favourite con-

[1] Eccleston, *ut infra*, p. 34.

[2] *Vide infra*, Appendix II. p. 137.

[3] Eccleston, *ut infra*, p. 35.

[4] Brewer, *Mon. Franc.* i. Preface, li. Eccleston relates a story of Albert of Pisa which illustrates the Friars' use of parables as a means of instruction, *vide infra*, p. 105. On this peculiar trait of Franciscan preaching, *cfr.* F. Pascal Robinson, O.F.M., *The Golden Sayings of Brother Giles*, Introduction, xlvii. *seq.*

fessor both amongst citizens and courtiers"[1]; at a somewhat later time, in 1300, so great were the crowds who came to confession to the Friars at Oxford that the Minister-Provincial asked the bishop to license twenty-two confessors at that house: the bishop, however, would only license eight.[2] Matthew of Paris relates as a cause of complaint against the Friars that having come into the territory of the abbeys for the purpose of preaching, they would on some pretext remain the night, and in the morning under cover of darkness they would erect an altar and say Mass and would then hear confessions.[3] That the monks and parish priests resented such intrusions is only in the way of human nature[4]: yet it seems an undoubted fact that the people themselves rejoiced in the advent of the Friars.

Then again the Friars were frequently employed as peacemakers between rival parties. Eccleston refers to the effort made by Agnellus of Pisa to

[1] *Infra*, p. 73.

[2] Wood, *City of Oxford* (ed. Clark), ii. pp. 386-387. It is interesting to note that amongst the Friars presented by the Provincial was "Johannes Douns": "*procul dubio Johannes Duns Scotus*," adds Wood. John Duns, however, was not one of the eight approved by the bishop.

[3] Matth. Paris, *ad an.* 1235, vol. iii. p. 332.

[4] *Cfr.* Peckham, *Regist.* iii. p. 952 for Archbishop Peckham's vindication of the Friars. *Cfr.* Little, *Grey Friars*, p. 75, note 2.

bring about a reconciliation between the King and the Earl Marshal, and the journey Agnellus undertook on that occasion, in order to avert civil war, brought on an attack of dysentery which accelerated his death.[1] Adam Marsh was on several occasions called upon to act as arbitrator; at one time he arbitrates between the bishop and the Prior of Winchester; at another time he intervenes in a dispute between the townsmen of Oxford and the Earl of Cornwall; at other times he acts as peace-maker between the students of the university and the authorities.[2] Instances, too, are recorded of their intervention with the King and others on behalf of private persons[3]; and it is noteworthy that it is not merely the rich and people of some standing in the community who thus secured the services of the Friars. Adam Marsh, as his letters testify, interested himself on behalf of the poor who are in straits, and makes himself the advocate of those who have done wrong but have repented.[4]

[1] *Infra*, p. 97.

[2] *Cfr.* Brewer, *Mon. Franc.* i. lxxxii.-lxxxiv.

[3] E.g. *Patent Rolls*, ad an. 1232, m. 7—concession to William le Cutiler that he be freed from certain taxes *at petition of Haymo of Faversham*; ad an. 1233 m. 6, pardon . . . *at instance of John Gernegan*; ad an. 1256, pardon . . . *at instance of John de Dyva*; ad an. 1258, m. 9, pardon . . . *at instance of Mansuetus*. See also instances of Adam Marsh's interventions *ut supra*.

[4] *Cfr.* Brewer, *Mon. Franc.* lxxxv.

Very frequently, too, were the Friars secured by the King, nobles and bishops as secretaries and counsellors, and it is evident how in these positions the Friars were able to exert a widespreading influence. Bishop Grosseteste usually had at least one Friar in his household[1]; Gregory de Bossells was for a time attached to the service of the Archbishop of Canterbury[2]; Simon de Montfort, when Governor of Gascony, was urgent in his request that some Friars be sent to him.[3] In 1250 the Pope gave leave to the Friars who were in the service of the King to ride when on journeys.[4] These are a few instances of what was evidently a widespread institution. Adam Marsh foresaw that this constant occupation of the Friars in secular affairs would tend to a relaxation of religious discipline and be a hindrance to the spiritual life.[5] In 1247 it was necessary for the Pope to forbid bishops to retain Friars in their service without leave of their superiors.[6] It may

1 Eccleston, *ut infra*, App. I. p. 129; *Grosseteste, Epist.* xx. (Roll Series), p. 71.

2 *Adæ de Mar. Epist.* cxlvi. p. 280.

3 *Ibid.* clvii. p. 292.

4 Innoc. IV., *Celsitudinis tuae* (Sbaralea, *Bull. Franc.* p. 542).

5 *Epist.* ccii. p. 261 (even novices, he says, were engaged in secular occupations); ccxliv. p. 407.

6 Innoc. IV., *Petitionibus vestris* (Sbaralea, *Bull. Franc.* p. 485).

be, too, that this frequent dwelling in the houses of seculars lessened that proper independence which is necessary to the apostolic vocation. According to Matthew of Westminster Grosseteste himself rebuked the Friars for that they were not sufficiently courageous in denouncing the sins of the great; and Eccleston refers to the leniency of a famous confessor who "spared the rich in enjoining them penance."[1] On the other hand the letters of Adam Marsh show us a Friar who feared not to rebuke earl, countess, or king.[2]

Generally speaking, the sympathies of the Friars were with the people in the struggle for popular liberties, notwithstanding the favour shown them by the King. Adam Marsh was a staunch friend of Simon de Montfort,[3] and when the great earl was killed at Evesham the Friars mourned for him as for a martyr.[4] The fact that the papal collectors or nuncios, whose presence in England was so generally resented by the leading men of the nation, were frequently Friars, seems in no way to have lessened the respect in which the Friars as a body were held, though the opponents of the

[1] *Flores Hist.* ad an. 1253; Eccleston, *ut infra*, p. 18.

[2] *Epist.* clxiii. p. 270; clix. p. 294; cxlii. p. 275; clxii. p. 299.

[3] *Adæ de Mar. Epist.* cxliii. etc.

[4] *Cfr.* Little, *Grey Friars*, p. 33.

Friars, such as Matthew of Paris, failed not to add the presence of these Friar-collectors to the list of their grievances. Three of these collectors are mentioned in Eccleston: John de Dya, whom I suspect to be John the Englishman of Matthew of Paris[1]; Mansuetus and Walter of Reigate.[2]

Thus then do these early Friars appear before us as men of wide human sympathies and interests and as men of ceaseless activities. And yet their greatest glory surely was their zeal for poverty. When Haymo of Faversham, as Minister-General, was preparing an interpretation of the Rule in order to settle the doubts of the brethren, the English Friars "begged him by the overflowing blood of Jesus Christ to leave the Rule as it was written by St Francis."[3] At the Chapter of Metz, the English were foremost in rejecting the relaxations sanctioned by Innocent IV.[4] Albert of Pisa, who had been Minister-Provincial of several provinces besides that of England, before being elected Minister-General, died at Rome "commending the English above all other nations, in that they were zealous for the Order."[5]

1 *Vide infra*, App. I. p. 129, note.
2 Eccleston, *ut infra*, pp. 96, 119.
3 *Ibid.* p. 89.
4 *Ibid.* p. 58; *vide infra*, Preface, p. xxxiii.
5 *Ibid.* p. 86.

Another Minister-General, the Blessed John of Parma, would have had the English Province "placed in the middle of the earth, that it might be an example to all the churches."[1] Evidences of a certain weakening of the original fervour do appear even in Eccleston's narrative[2]; yet on the whole the English Province seems to have merited its repute and to have kept the ideal of seraphic poverty faithfully in mind. And this for the Franciscan Friar is the highest praise.

. . . . . .

The English Friars were fortunate in having a chronicler of their own. True the *Chronicle of Thomas of Eccleston* is all too meagre. Frequently in reading his pages we long for fuller details, and only in one or two instances does he rise to the descriptive power which makes the reading of his contemporary friar-chronicler, Giordano da Giano,[3] so peculiarly interesting. Nevertheless *Eccleston's Chronicle* has a charm of its own in its absolute sincerity. As I have said elsewhere: "His work has not the poetic charm of the *Fioretti*. The greyness of the English sky is reflected in his style, just as the sunshine of Italy pervades the later book. Yet in the one as

[1] Eccleston, *ut infra*, p. 123.

[2] *Vide infra*, pp. 102, 112, etc.

[3] See his Chronicle in *Analecta Franciscana*, vol. i.

in the other, there is the same fresh and invigorating atmosphere of mind; the same directness and simplicity of the Franciscan spirit. Thomas of Eccleston has all the implicit belief in his Order which is the charm of an early chronicler; and because of his belief he has no misgiving about manifesting occasionally the human weakness of his brethren."[1] Brewer says of him: "Without any of the professed ambition of the historian, he has contrived to compose a narrative of thirty years, which cannot fail of interesting his readers, whether curious or not in the progress of the Order to which he belonged. He gives us what no other writer, less simple and zealous, would have cared or perhaps been willing to give—a clear, unvarnished picture of the Friars in their poverty, and before their Order had been glorified by the eminent schoolmen of a later period."[2]

Of the author himself nothing is known save what may be learnt from his Chronicle. We do not know his birthplace nor can we fix with any certainty the date of his entrance into the Order. In the Chronicle he calls himself simply Brother Thomas. Bale was the first to style him "Thomas of Eccleston," the name by which he has been known since. From the fact that he scarcely refers

[1] *The Friars and How they came to England*, pp. 111, 112.

[2] *Mon. Franc.* i. p. lxxiv.

to the Franciscan settlements in the north of England, Professor Little infers that he was not a north country man.[1] On the other hand Eccleston does not mention the foundation of the house at Norwich, nor does he refer to the coming of the Friars to Bury St Edmunds, both of which incidents should have had special interest for an East Anglian.

As to the time when he became a Friar: he was living in the house in London "in the time of the Minister, Brother William."[2] Now William of Nottingham was Minister-Provincial from 1230 to 1234. But Eccleston was still "in the secular dress" when Haymo of Faversham came to England.[3] As Haymo represented France in the General Chapter of 1230, he probably did not come to England till after that chapter: hence we may conclude that Eccleston did not enter the Order before 1231. It is probable he entered about this date. He tells us he was twenty-five years collecting the materials for his Chronicle, and the greater probability is that the Chronicle was written about 1258. The list of Ministers-General ends with John of Parma, who resigned in 1257. Eccleston mentions his dismissal from office; but there is no mention in the Chronicle of John of Parma's succes-

[1] *Occasional Papers* (Internat. Soc. of Franc. Studies), No. vi.
[2] *Infra*, p. 9. [3] *Ibid.* p. 40.

sor, St Bonaventure. Again, the last of the Ministers-Provincial mentioned is Peter of Tewkesbury, who was elected minister in 1254.[1] Further, mention is made of "Mansuetus, Nuncio of the Lord Pope Alexander IV.," who was nuncio in 1258; but though Eccleston mentions Walter of Reigate, he does not mention him as nuncio. Walter was nuncio in 1261.[2] Moreover, though Adam Marsh is spoken of several times, there is no reference to his death, which occurred in 1258. Internal evidence therefore points to the conclusion that the Chronicle was finished in 1258. Against this however there is the mention of Augustine of Nottingham as Bishop of Laodicea. Eubel's list of the bishops of Laodicea gives the date of Augustine's episcopate "*circa* 1310."[3] The indefiniteness of this date, however, lessens its authority; moreover it is possible that the words "*postremo episcopus Laodiceæ factus est*" are a later addition to the text. The only other suggestion of a date later than 1258 is a phrase used by Eccleston in recording the death of Brother Stephen, Custos of Salisbury. When the Sacred Viaticum was brought to him on his deathbed, Eccleston says "*vidit ostium in hostia*,"[4] a phrase which at once recalls to mind the verse of St Thomas Aquinas: *O Salu-*

[1] *Infra*, p. 128.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 96.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 116, note.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 47.

taris Hostia, qui cœli pandis ostium, which forms part of the hymn *Verbum Supernum* in the office for the feast of Corpus Christi, composed by St Thomas in 1264, and introduced that same year into the liturgy of the Church. But in face of the general evidence for 1258, these two points against that date hardly suggest more than possible interpolations.

All external evidence goes to prove the remarkable accuracy of Eccleston's statements, even in regard to affairs outside the English Province. His account of the General Chapters of 1230, 1233, and 1239 is clear, and bears the test of later research: he avoids the confusion which is so evident in the *Chronica xxiv. Gen.* in regard to these chapters.[1] Almost alone amongst the chroniclers, Eccleston records the fact that the Minister-General Crescentius was appointed Bishop of Jesi[2]; and his account of the troubles caused

[1] *Anal. Franc.* iii. pp. 229-232. The one phrase which might be misleading in Eccleston's account of the Chapter of 1239 is *Frater Haymo Parisius*, which might suggest that Haymo at this time was Custos of Paris, whereas he was already in England (*cfr.* Eccleston, *ut infra*, p. 35). That Haymo was in England in 1232 also seems evident from the mention of him in *Patent Rolls*, ad an. 1232, m. 9. But Eccleston may have used the phrase simply because Haymo was received into the Order in Paris and so was an alumnus of that house.

[2] *Ut infra*, p. 90.

by the Visitors of Elias is borne out by his contemporary, Giordano da Giano.[1] Where he makes a mistake it is in a matter of slight importance, as when he styles Crescentius "Minister of Verona," instead of "Minister of the Marches"[2]: unless, indeed—and here we have a nice point for discussion—Eccleston has erred in confusing the General Chapters of Genoa and Metz. Twice in the course of his Chronicle he mentions a General Chapter of Genoa. In the first instance he says: "Nor ought it to be forgotten that at the General Chapter of Genoa Brother John of Keton, together with Brother Gregory de Bossells faithfully stood by Brother William of Nottingham . . . and in opposition to almost the entire chapter fortunately brought it to pass that the privilege granted by our Lord the Pope to receive money through procurators be altogether abolished and that, moreover the interpretation of the Rule by the Lord Pope Innocent . . . be put aside."[3] Now it is evident that the Chapter of Genoa here referred to cannot be that of 1244, since the Declaration of Innocent IV. referred to by Eccleston was not published till 14th November 1245. But at the Chapter of Metz this Declaration was one of the chief questions debated. Of course

[1] *Ut infra*, pp. 51, 53.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 89.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 58.

"Genoa" may be a copyist's error[1]; only there remains the second mention of a Chapter of Genoa, and in this instance Eccleston makes it clear that the chapter was held under John of Parma, yet no other chronicler, so far as I know, speaks of such a chapter.[2] At first sight it might appear that Eccleston has not only confused Metz with Genoa but even with the Chapter of 1244. But again I think Eccleston, far from confusing his Chapters, gives us authoritative information of first importance regarding one of the most famous chapters of the Franciscan Order. My contention is that there was a General Chapter at Genoa under John of Parma, and that it was held shortly after the Chapter of Metz, and as a conclusion to this chapter: and that the Declaration of Innocent IV. was the crucial question brought forward at both places. At Metz it was determined to reject the Declaration: that much is known from independ-

[1] We have not got Eccleston's original MS. All the MSS. in existence are copies.

[2] *Ut infra*, p. 93. It is noteworthy in connection with this reference that, according to Mark of Lisbon, at the Chapter of Metz John of Parma ordered Celano to write his treatise on the miracles of St Francis, and that in this treatise Celano dwells at some length on the evidences for the Stigmata. *Cfr.* Mark of Lisbon, *Chron.* II. lib. 1. cap. xliii.; T. de Celano (ed. d'Alençon), pp. 242-251; proleg. xviii., xxiv., xl.

ent sources.[1] From the chapter delegates were then sent to Rome to lay the matter before Alexander IV., and amongst them was William of Nottingham, who at the chapter was relieved from the Provincial ministry of England. Now William of Nottingham had arrived at Genoa "with the Minister-General" when he was struck down with the sickness which brought about his death; and this I think was after the delegates had been to the Pope and when they had brought the Pope's decision to the Friars assembled at Genoa. But there is next the question of dates to be considered: for if the statement of the Quaracchi editors of the *Chronica xxiv. Gen.* were correct that the Chapter of Metz was held in 1249 and that of Genoa in 1254, the above opinion could hardly stand.[2] The traditional date of 1249 for the Chapter of Metz can however no longer be held: the correct date must be either 1253 or 1254. The date of 1249 derives its authority from Wadding, who himself adopted it on the inconclusive reasoning of Rodolpho da Tossignano, another of the "*Historiæ Seraphicæ Religionis*," though the plain inference from the sequence of events as related by Mark of Lisbon

1 *Cfr.* Wadding, *Annales*, ad an. 1249; Ehrle, *Archiv.* vi. p. 34.

2 *Anal. Franc.* iii. p. 270, note.

seems to have made Wadding himself doubtful.[1] Curiously enough Brewer's edition of Eccleston, owing to a wrong reading of the manuscript, confirmed the traditional date, though Leland's reading should have warned him against it. According to Brewer's reading, William of Nottingham was dismissed from the Provincialate "when he had governed the province of England for about nine years"—"circiter *novem* annos." The correct reading is "circiter *14* annos": as Leland had already given it in his *Collectanea*.[2] Now if we read, as we must, that William of Nottingham was Provincial about fourteen years, this gives us

[1] "*Non rejiciendus ergo Rudolphus, cum nihil certius occurrat,*" says Wadding: though he confesses that both Marianus of Florence and Mark of Lisbon put the Chapter of Metz after John of Parma's journey to the East; but he says it seems *more congruous* that the Minister-General should hold a chapter *before* undertaking so long a journey, than *after!*

According to Mark of Lisbon the Chapter of Metz discussed the situation which had arisen at Paris in consequence of the campaign against the Friars fomented by Guillaume de S. Amour (in 1254)—Chron., *ut supra.*

[2] *Mon. Franc.* i. p. 549. *Cfr.* Little, *Occas. Papers*, vi. p. 2. Brewer's error was due to confusing the Arabic 4 with Roman x. The figure in the Cottonian MS. is defective, as though the scribe's pen had stuck when it arrived at the apex of the figure, and this does undoubtedly at first sight give it the appearance of the Roman x; but a comparison with other numerals leaves little, if any, doubt of the correct reading.

the date of his death in 1254, since he became Provincial in 1240, when Haymo was elected General. It is evident from Eccleston that he died shortly after being dismissed from the Provincialate, for the English Friars did not know of his death when they re-elected him to the same office.[1] Further Eccleston tells us that John of Keton was dismissed from the office of Provincial at the same time as William of Nottingham, and that he had been Provincial twenty years. But he was first appointed Provincial when Scotland was separated from the English Province by Elias —that is, in 1233 or 1234; he continued Minister of Scotland until the reunion of the English and Scottish provinces at the deposition of Elias in 1239 when he was sent as Minister to Ireland.[2]

Add to this the evidence borne by a letter of Adam Marsh and I think the date of the Chapter of Metz is decisively determined. Adam Marsh in a letter to William of Nottingham, couched in terms which show that William was still Provincial,

[1] *Ut infra*, p. 127.

[2] Eccleston, *ut infra*, pp. 56, 57. It is to be noted, however, that the York MS., according to Brewer, has *ten* years instead of twenty. It is a curiosity of literature that once again another reading of Eccleston should give us the date 1249: for if the York reading were correct, and we count John of Keton's ministry from the time he went to Ireland, we have 1249 as the date of his dismissal.

speaks of the See of Lincoln being vacant. But Grosseteste died on 8th November 1253.[1]

The Chapter of Metz therefore must have been held either towards the end of 1253 or early in 1254: and we conclude that the assembly of the Friars at Genoa was but a few months later, and that it was but a sequel to Metz, and practically the same chapter.[2] If this is the true state of the case, as I think it is, then we have at once a vindication of Eccleston, and also the reason why other chroniclers do not mention this particular Chapter of Genoa as a distinct chapter.

. . . . . .

There are four known manuscripts of Eccleston's Chronicle, known respectively as the York, Cotton, Lamport, and Phillipps MSS. The first three belong to the fourteenth century; the last is of a somewhat later date, and is copied from the Cotton-Lamport MSS. Brewer's edition of the Chronicle in *Mon. Franc.* i. is based upon the York and Cotton MSS. The Lamport MS. has been edited by Howlett in *Mon. Franc.* ii. Phillipps MS. is yet unedited, but Professor Little has promised an

[1] *Epist.* clxxx. p. 322.

[2] A somewhat similar instance of the transference of a chapter from one place to another seems to have occurred at the Chapter of 1244 (*cfr.* Sabatier, *Opuscules*, p. 115).

edition of Eccleston based on this MS. for publication in the *Collection d'Études*.

According to Professors Little and Howlett, the Cotton and Lamport MSS. are really parts of one MS. which belonged to the Franciscan house at Hereford. The Lamport MS. begins about the middle of Chapter I. and ends with Chapter V.; the Cotton MS. begins at Chapter IX. and continues to the end of the Chronicle. Unfortunately since 1882 the Lamport MS. has been lost.

Both York and Phillipps MSS. are complete, though the York MS. has been rendered illegible at the end, owing to fire. The Phillipps MS. is copied from Lamport-Cotton, but the York MS. is an independent copy either of the original MS. or of some lost copy.[1]

The edition of Eccleston in *Anal. Franc.* i. is from Brewer and Howlett, and not from the MSS.

1 Brewer, *Mon. Franc.* i. Preface; Howlett, *Mon. Franc.* ii. Preface; Little, *Occasional Papers*, vi.

Eccleston's Chronicle

CHAPTER I

OF THE FIRST COMING OF THE FRIARS MINOR

In the year of the Lord 1224, in the time of the Lord Pope Honorius (in the same year, that is, in which the Rule of the blessed Francis was by him confirmed [1]), and in the eighth year of the Lord King Henry, son of John, on the Tuesday after the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin,[2] which that year fell upon a Sunday, the Friars Minor first arrived in England, landing at Dover. They were four clerics and

1224 A.D. Arrival of the Friars.

1 Honorius III. confirmed the Rule on 29th November 1223. (Eccleston, according to medieval usage, would date the commencement of the year either from the preceding March or from Advent.)

2 8th September; consequently the Friars arrived on 10th September, not 11th September, as Brewer states in his Summary. The *Chronicle of Lanercost*, ad. an. 1224, says the Friars came "*post festum natalis Virginis gloriosæ*" (Stevenson has inserted after these words "Jan. 1"!); but further on contradicts itself and says they came on the Feast of St Bartholomew.

five lay brethren. The clerics were these: first, Brother Agnellus of Pisa, who was in deacon's orders and about thirty years of age. He had been chosen by the blessed Francis to go to England as Minister-Provincial, in the General Chapter immediately preceding.[1] He had been custos of Paris, and had there borne himself with such discretion that both with the brethren and with seculars he was much and rightly esteemed as a man of notable sanctity.

Agnellus of Pisa.

The second was Brother Richard of Ingworth.[2]

[1] According to the *Chronicle of the xxiv. Generals*, Agnellus of Pisa was sent by St Francis to England at the Chapter of 1219. Wadding and others adopt this statement, but date the actual arrival of the Friars in England in 1220 (*Annales*, ad an. 1220). This however is manifestly an error. The Friars Minor did not arrive in Paris until some time between 11th June 1219 and 29th May 1220. The *Chron. xxiv. Gen.* admits that at Paris Agnellus founded a house and was custos there before he was sent to England. Moreover the Friars Preachers did not arrive in England until 1221 (Echard, *Scriptores Ord. Praed.* tome i. p. 23), and they had established houses in England before the coming of the Friars Minor (cf. *Anal. Franciscana*, tome iii. p. 24, note 5). Wadding says a copy of the letters of obedience given by St Francis to Agnellus was in his time painted on the walls of the Convent of Alvernia and ran thus: "*Ego Frater Franciscus de Assisis Minister Generalis præcipio tibi fratri Agnello de Pisa per obedientiam ut vadas ad Angliam et ibi facias officium ministratus vale*" (*Annales*, ad an. 1220).

[2] Elsewhere Brewer suggests *Intworth*. He is styled Brother

an Englishman by birth, who was both priest and preacher, and more advanced in age. He was the first of the brethren to preach to the people on this side of the Alps. In course of time, during the ministry of Brother John Parenti of happy memory, he was sent as Minister-Provincial to Ireland [1]; for he had already been Vicar to Brother Agnellus in England when the said Brother Agnellus went to the General Chapter whereat was made the translation of the relics of St Francis, and had given a noble example of exceeding sanctity. But when he had completed the term of a ministry, faithful and acceptable before God, he was freed in General Chapter, by Brother Albert of happy memory, from all office amongst the brethren, and, burning with zeal for the faith, he went to Syria, and there, dying happily, found his rest.

Richard of Ingworth.

1230 A.D.

The third was Brother Richard of Devon, also an Englishman. He was in orders an acolyth, and in age a youth. Many examples did he leave us

Richard of Kingsthorp in Leland's *Collectanea*; and by Wadding and others.

[1] The *Patent Rolls Hen. III.*, an. 1237, mention a royal gift of ten marks to the Friars at Dublin towards the building of a house; and the same Rolls, ad an. 1245, make mention of Friars Minor at Dublin, Waterford, Drogheda, Cork, Athlone, and Kilkenny.

of his stout-heartedness and obedience. For after having travelled by obedience through many provinces, he dwelt continuously at a place called Romney, where, for fifteen years, he was frequently laid low by fevers and quartains.

Richard of Devon.

The fourth was Brother William of Ashby, who was but a novice in the caperone of probation.[1] He also was an Englishman and a youth. In the discharge of various offices he suffered much without blame, the spirit of Jesus Christ ministering unto him, and he left us many examples of humility and poverty, of charity and meekness, of obedience and patience and of all perfection. Thus, when Brother Gregory, the Minister of France, asked him whether he would be willing to go to England, he replied that he did not know. At which reply the Minister wondered, until Brother William said that the reason why he did not know was that his will was not his own but the Minister's, and so whatever the Minister willed he willed.

William of Ashby.

Brother William of Nottingham also gives testimony to his entire obedience. For when he gave him the choice of a place in which to dwell, Brother William of Ashby replied that the place

[1] The caperone is the distinguishing dress of novices in the Order.

which would please him most was that which the Minister himself would assigin. And because he was especially endowed with a most attractive and willing gentleness, he gained the affection of many seculars for the Order. Moreover, he led many worthy persons of different degrees of dignity, rank, and age into the way of salvation, and in many of them he demonstrated beyond doubt how the sweet Jesus can work wonders, and by means of grasshoppers overcome giants.[1]

Henry the Lombard.

Now the lay brethren were these: Brother Henry of Treviso, by birth a Lombard, who, because of his sanctity and remarkable discretion, was afterwards made Guardian of London. Having completed his course of labour in England, and the number of the brethren being already increased, he returned into his own country.

Lawrence of Beauvais.

The second was Brother Lawrence, who was born at Beauvais. He in the early days of the Province worked according to the Rule in unceasing labours.[2] Then he went back to the blessed Francis, whom he did frequently see, and he was found worthy of the consolation of conversing with him. At length

[1] See Numbers xiii. 33.

[2] Little reads MS.: "*in opere mechanico*"—in manual labour (cf. *Occasional Papers*, vi. p. 2).

our holy Father generously gave him his own tunic, and, with a most sweet blessing, sent him back again rejoiced to England. After many labours, and, as I think, through the merits of our holy Father, he came to the haven of rest, London, where he now is, being stricken down with a desperate sickness, and looking forward to the end of so long a weariness.

William of Florence. The third lay brother was Brother William of Florence, who, after the arrival of the brethren, quickly returned to France.

Melioratus. The fourth was Melioratus.[1]

James. The fifth, Brother James from beyond the Alps, who was as yet but a novice in the caperone of probation.

These nine having then been charitably conveyed across to England and cordially provided for in their necessities by the monks of Fécamp, on arriving at Canterbury sojourned for two days at the priory of the Holy Trinity. Then four of them at once set off for London, namely, Brother Richard of Ingworth, Brother Richard of Devon, Brother Henry, and Brother Melioratus. The other five went to the Priests' Hospice, where they remained until they found for themselves a dwelling. But very shortly after their arrival

[1] The *Registrum FF. Min. Londoniæ* names this brother Monachatus.

they were given a small chamber at the back of a schoolhouse, where from day to day they remained almost continously shut up. But when the scholars had gone home in the evening the brethren went into the schoolhouse, and there made a fire and sat near it. And sometimes at the evening conference they would put on the fire a small pot in which were the dregs of beer, and they would dip a cup into the pot and drink in turn, each speaking meanwhile some word of edification.[1] One who merited to be a companion and participator in this unblemished simplicity and holy poverty has testified that at times the beer was so thick that when the pot was to be put on the fire they had to put in water, and so they drank rejoicing.

Manner of life there.

Their poverty.

In like manner, at Salisbury,[2] it frequently happened that the brethren had but the dregs of

[1] On fasting days it was the custom of the Friars to meet together in the evening for a spiritual conference (*collatio*) instead of taking supper, and those who wished were allowed something to drink.

[2] William of Worcester, *Itinerarium*, p. 81, says Friars Minor came to Salisbury in 1227. They were certainly there in 1230, in which year they received a royal grant of timber for the building of their house (*Close Rolls Hen. III.*, an. 1230, m. 13). Another grant of timber for the building of their church was made in 1232 (*Patent Rolls Hen. III.*, an. 1232, m. 7).

beer to drink, which they drank with much merriment and joy at the hour of conference around the kitchen fire, and he esteemed himself fortunate who could in a friendly way seize the cup from another.

And at Shrewsbury, Brother Martin, an old man who began the house there, boasted how, at the first coming of the brethren thither, he had done the same thing.

In those days so strictly did the brethren avoid contracting debts that hardly in extreme necessity would they become debtors. Thus it happened that Brother Agnellus, with Brother Solomon the Guardian of London, wished to audit the accounts of the brethren of London, to see what were their expenses during one term of the year, but when he saw how the books showed not a moderate but a plentiful increase in neediness he threw from him both books and bills, and, striking his face, exclaimed, "I am done!" And never again would he audit the accounts.

How they avoided contracting debts.

Another time it happened that two of the brethren came to one of our houses, and they were much troubled in spirit. Now there being no beer in the house, the Guardian, with the advice of the elders, sent out for a measure of beer on credit. Nevertheless the brethren of the

house who were with the guests would not drink of it, but only pretended to drink, out of charity.

Until the time when the Order was regularly established the brethren were accustomed to have an evening conference every day, at which they drank, those who wished, in common[1]; and afterwards, in due course, they held the chapter.[2] Nor were they restricted from taking various dishes, nor even from wine. Nevertheless in many places they would not accept the portions of fish or flesh meat which were offered them, except on three days in the week. In the convent of London itself, in the time of the Minister-Provincial Brother William of happy memory, and of Brother Hugh the Guardian, I have seen the brethren drink beer of such sourness that some preferred to drink water, and I have seen them eat bread which the people call *torta*. Nay, for want of bread I have often eaten spelt, even in company with the said Minister-Provincial and guests in the hospice.[3]

1 It was considered a mark of immortification to take drink except at the fixed times.

2 *I.e.* the local chapter of the community.

3 These last two paragraphs are both marked "Incidens" in Howlett's fragment; but Brewer, following the York MS., has omitted the word. The paragraphs marked "Incidens" seem to have been added by a later hand.

CHAPTER II

OF THE FIRST DISPERSION OF THE BRETHREN

Now when the four brethren whom I have before named arrived in London, they went unto the Friars Preachers, and by them were kindly received. With them they remained for fifteen days, eating and drinking what was set before them as though they were members of the family. Afterwards they rented a house in Cornhill, and made for themselves little cells, filling in the walls with dried grass. In this simplicity they continued until the following summer, having not even a chapel of their own; for they had not as yet the privilege of erecting altars and celebrating the divine mysteries in their dwellings.[1]

They arrive in London.

[1] Honorius III. granted the Friars Minor the privilege of celebrating Mass in their own oratories, *cum altari viatico* (with a portable altar), by his decree, *Quia populares tumultus*, of 3rd December 1224; Gregory IX. confirmed this privilege by decree *Nos attendentes* of 10th June 1228, and Innocent IV. by decree *Nos attendentes* of 7th October 1243. Not until 1249 were the chapels of the Friars considered conventual churches:

But just before the Feast of All Saints,[1] and before Brother Agnellus had come up to London, Brother Richard of Ingworth and Brother Richard of Devon went on to Oxford, and there in like manner were received as brethren by the Friars Preachers. They ate in their refectory and slept in their dormitory for eight days, as though they belonged to the convent. Afterwards they obtained a house in the parish of St Ebbe, and there they dwelt without a chapel until the following summer. Here the sweet Jesus sowed the grain of mustard seed which was afterwards to become greatest among herbs.[2]

At Oxford.

From Oxford Brother Richard of Ingworth and Brother Richard of Devon went on to Northampton, and were there taken into the hospice. They afterwards rented a house in the parish of St Giles,[3] where the first Guardian was Brother Peter, a Spaniard, who

At Northampton.

in that year the bull *Cum tanquam veri* gave them this dignity. Before that however the Friars had begun to have fixed altars in their chapels, as is evident from a saying of Haymo of Faversham recorded in chap. xiii. p. 112. *Cfr.* Sbaralea, *Bullarium*, i. pp. 20, 41, 311.

1 1st November.

2 See Appendix.

3 The *Close Rolls Hen. III.*, an. 1232, m. 8, mention a royal gift of timber for the building of the house at Northampton.

wore an iron breastplate next to his flesh, and in other ways gave evidences of perfection.

The first Guardian of Oxford was Brother William of Ashby, who, being as yet a novice, was now given the habit of profession. The first Guardian of Cambridge was Brother Thomas of Spain. The first Guardian of Lincoln was Brother Henry Misericorde, a lay brother.[1]

The first Guardians.

Now it was Sir John Travers who first received the brethren at Cornhill, and let them a house; and the Guardian was a certain Lombard, a lay brother, Henry by name, who now began for the first time to learn letters, and this he did at night in the Church of St Peter at Cornhill. Later on he was named Vicar of the English Province, whilst Brother Agnellus was away at a General Chapter; his socius[2] in the vicarship being Brother Richard of Ingworth. At length, however, not able to bear well such good fortune, but becoming demoralised by honours, he became a stranger unto himself, and at length miserably apostatised from the Order.

Well worthy to be recorded is it that in the second year of the ministry of Brother Peter, the

[1] *Patent Rolls Hen. III.*, an. 1231, m. 4, contain a licence for the building of a house for the Friars Minor at Lincoln.

[2] A "socius" is an official companion and coadjutor.

fifth Provincial-Minister of England, that is to say, in the thirty-second year since the coming of the brethren into England, there were in the English Province forty-nine houses, and the number of brethren dwelling therein was one thousand two hundred and forty-two.[1] 1256 A.D.

[1] These last two paragraphs are each marked "Incidens" in Howlett's fragment.

CHAPTER III

OF THE NOVICES WHO CAME TO THE ORDER AND OF BROTHER SOLOMON

When the brethren who first arrived in England had thus separated and had gone to their different places, there came some, led by the spirit of Jesus, seeking admission into the Order. Of these the first to be admitted was a youth of good parts and of remarkable elegance of person, to wit, Brother Solomon. He used to tell me how, when he was a novice, he was appointed procurator of the community, and one day he came to the house of his sister to beg an alms. She, bringing him some bread, turned away her face and exclaimed: "Cursed be the hour in which I have ever seen thee." But he received the bread rejoicing and went his way. So strictly did he hold by the established rule of most needy poverty, that, when at times, for the sake of some sick brother, he would bring in his caperone wheaten flour, or salt, or a few figs, or an armful of wood for the fire, he took diligent

Brother Solomon.

heed not to accept or retain anything beyond the measure of the most extreme necessity. Whence it sometimes happened that he himself was so starved with cold that he believed himself nigh unto death; and the brethren having not wherewith to warm him, holy charity suggested to them a kindly remedy; for all the brethren gathered together and huddled about him, and so revived him.[1]

His love of poverty.

When he was to be promoted to the Order of Acolyths he was sent to the venerable Father the Archbishop Stephen of holy memory, and presented by one of the elder brethren. The Archbishop received him most graciously, and ordained him under this title: "Let Brother Solomon, of the Order of the Apostles, come forward."[2] (This incident have I related that it might be known in how great reverence the simplicity of the brethren in those first days was held by the learned.) But when they had eaten at the Archbishop's table, the brethren returned barefoot to Canterbury in snow exceedingly deep and fearful to behold.

Is ordained acolyth.

How he walked to Canterbury barefoot in the snow and injured his foot.

1 "*Convenerunt siquidem omnes fratres circa ipsum suis sinibus, sicut porcis mos est, eum comprimendo foverunt.*"

2 According to Wadding this formula was used at the ordination of Agnellus of Pisa (*Annales*, ad. an. 1220).

After this Brother Solomon got an infirmity in one of his feet, by which he was stricken down in London for two years, being scarcely able to move unless he were carried. During this time he was found worthy to be visited by Brother Jordan of holy memory, Master-General of the whole Order of Preachers, who said to him: "Brother, be not ashamed if the Father of the Lord Jesus Christ leads thee to Himself on foot."

For a long time therefore did he lie in his cell, and was unable to hear holy Mass, since the brethren did not celebrate in the house, but went to hear Mass and to celebrate in the parish church. At length he became so desperately ill that in the opinion of the surgeons the foot must be cut off; but when the knife was brought and the foot was uncovered, a corrupt matter came out of it, and this gave some hope that it would heal. So the surgeons' harsh decision was for a time put aside. In the meantime Brother Solomon conceived the hope that if he were taken to the shrine of St Eloy he would regain both his foot and his health. Therefore when Brother Agnellus arrived he commanded that in whatever way it could conveniently be done, Brother Solomon should without delay be

He visits a shrine beyond the sea and is cured.

taken to the shrine of St Eloy beyond the seas.[1] So it came to pass, and the faith of Brother Solomon did not fail him; for he afterwards so far recovered as to be able to walk without a stick, and to celebrate Mass, and become Guardian of London, and general confessor to the whole city. Yet because he had for a long time besought the most sweet Jesus that he might be cleansed from his sins in the present life, there was sent him an infirmity which affected the spine, so that he became hunched-back and bent; moreover, the sweet Jesus sent him a recurrent dropsy and bleeding hæmorrhoids until his death. Finally on the day before his soul went forth unto his Lord, He, the sweet Jesus, cast him into such sorrow of heart, that all the sufferings Brother Solomon had hitherto borne seemed nothing in comparison with this agony; nor could he tell why he sorrowed. Therefore he called to him three of the brethren with whom he was more intimate, and telling them of his agony of soul, pleaded that they would in all earnestness pray for his welfare. Now whilst these brethren were persevering together in prayer, there appeared to Brother Solomon the most sweet

His holy death.

[1] At Noyon, in Flanders, where the body of St Eloy was kept until the Revolution.

Jesus with the holy apostle Peter, standing by his bed and gazing upon him. Brother Solomon, as soon as he knew that it was the Saviour, cried out: "Have mercy upon me, O Lord; have mercy upon me." And the Lord Jesus replied: "Because thou didst always ask Me to afflict thee in this present life, and so cleanse thee, I have sent thee this sorrow; the more so that thou didst leave thy first charity, and didst not, as became thy calling, bring forth worthy fruits of penance; and that thou didst overmuch spare the rich in enjoining them penance."[1] And the blessed Peter added: "Moreover, know that thou didst grievously sin in thy judgment of Brother John of Chester, who lately died. Pray now that the Lord give thee such an end as he had." Then Brother Solomon cried out: "Have mercy upon me, most sweet Lord; have mercy upon me, sweet Jesus!" Who, smiling, looked upon Brother Solomon with so gentle a countenance that all his preceding anguish immediately vanished, and filled with spiritual joy he conceived a most certain assurance of his salvation. Quickly he called to him the brethren, and told them what

[1] See chap. xi. *Cp.* Matth. Westmon. *Flores Hist.*, ad an. 1253, where Bishop Grosseteste is stated to have blamed the Friars for not denouncing with sufficient courage the vices of the great.

he had seen, whereat they were not a little consoled.[1]

The second brother to be received by Brother Agnellus was Brother William of London, who had for some time been dumb, but recovered his speech at Barking through the merits of St Ethelburga, as he himself told me. He had been of the household of the Lord Justiciary of England, Hubert de Burgh, although he was a layman and by repute a man of loose life; he was moreover a renowned tailor.[2] He too was admitted to the habit in London at the time when the brethren had neither chapel nor ground.

Brother William of London.

The third was a man of good parts, pious, noble, and refined, and a native of the very city of London—Brother Joyce of Cornhill, a cleric. After having borne many labours here, he went to live in Spain, and there died happily.

Brother Joyce of Cornhill.

[1] The following passage has been evidently interpolated in this place:—"It is worthy of record that during the time the brethren dwelt at Cornhill the devil appeared visibly to Brother Gilbert of Wyke, as he was sitting alone, and said: 'Thinkest thou to escape me? Behold! this thou shalt have.' And he threw at him a handful of lice, and vanished. This Gilbert of Wyke was one of the first friars received into the Order in London."—Vide *Registrum FF. MM.* (Brewer, *Mon. Franc.* i. p. 495).

[2] He is described as *sartor domini Henrici regis* in *Registrum FF. MM.*, ut supra, p. 509.

The fourth was Brother John, a cleric, a youth of about eighteen years, of good parts and excellent manners; but he very quickly completed the course of this present life and went to the Lord Jesus Christ. He it was who persuaded the priest Sir Philip, who was suffering from his teeth, to send bread and beer to the Friars Minor, promising that the Lord Jesus would cure him; and so it came to pass.' Shortly afterwards, therefore, they both gave themselves to the Order and took the habit.

Brother John.

The fifth was this Brother Philip, a Londoner by birth and a priest. He was afterwards appointed Guardian of Bridgenorth, and as a preacher gained many souls to Christ. At the end he was sent to Ireland, and there departed to the Lord.

Brother Philip.

After these certain masters of the University entered the Order who increased the fame of the brethren. One of these was Brother Walter de Burgh, concerning whom a brother had a wonderful vision; for he saw the Lord Jesus descending from heaven, who offered to Brother Walter a scroll on which was written: "Thy harvest is not here, but elsewhere." To this brother was revealed the deception of a certain religious woman, who by her false visions had so far deluded a certain

University graduates.

Walter de Burgh.

prudent brother that he committed these visions to writing. Now Brother Agnellus did not believe in the visions, and he enjoined the brethren to pray that God would make clear to him a certain matter about which he was much concerned. And behold that very night it seemed to Brother Walter that he saw a doe run quickly up the brow of a high mountain, and two black dogs followed her and turned her down into the valley, and there strangled her. Whereupon he ran to the place where he thought he would find the doe, and found nothing but a small vessel full of blood. Now when this vision was related by Brother Walter to Brother Agnellus, he judged that the woman was a hypocrite, and he sent unto her therefore two discreet brethren, who, when she had confessed that she had invented all she had told, reconciled her to truth.

He discovers the fraud of a certain religious woman.

Another master who entered was Brother Richard, a Norman, who when he once sought a word of edification from the aforesaid Brother Walter, after long deliberation within himself, replied: "Whoever wishes to be at peace, let himself in peace."

Richard the Norman.

Then came Master Vincent of Coventry,[1] and

1 *Cfr.* Wadding, *Scriptores*, Ord. FF. Min. p. 224; Sbaralea, *Supplementum ad Scriptores*, p. 687; Pits, *De illust. Scriptoribus Anglic.* p. 324, No. 356.

he not long afterwards, the grace of Jesus Christ assisting, prevailed upon his brother, Master Henry, to enter also. They were received on the day of the conversion of St Paul, together with Master Adam of Oxford of holy memory, and Sir William of York, a fully approved bachelor.

Vincent of Coventry.

This Master Adam of Oxford, a man famous throughout the whole world, had made a vow that whatsoever he was asked to do for the love of the Blessed Virgin he would do, and this he told to a certain woman, an anchoress, with whom he was acquainted. Now she revealed the secret to her friends, namely, a monk of Reading, and certain others of the Order of the Cistercians, and to a Friar Preacher, telling them that they should gain such a great man for their Order; but she did not wish that he should become a Friar Minor. But the Blessed Virgin would not permit that any of them should ask anything of Master Adam for love of her, even when they had him in their company, but always they deferred their request until another time.

Adam of Oxford.

His vow to the Blessed Virgin.

But one night Master Adam dreamt that he must cross a bridge where were certain men setting nets in the water to catch him:

but he, though with great difficulty, escaped them, and came into a fair pleasaunce. Now when he had by Divine Providence escaped from these others, he unexpectedly came upon the Friars Minor; and William de Colville the elder, a man of exceeding sanctity, spoke, and, amongst other words, said these: "Beloved Master, for the love of the Mother of God, enter our Order, and raise up our simplicity." And at once Master Adam gave way as though he had heard that very word from the mouth of the Mother of God herself.

His dream.

He was at that time the companion of Master Adam Marsh,[1] and in his service, whom also, by

[1] Adam Marsh, or, as he is commonly styled, Adam de Marisco, probably a native of Somersetshire, was a priest when he entered the Order, and had held a living near Wearmouth. Already he was a man of mark and a friend of Grosseteste. Brewer says he entered the Order about 1236; but according to Wadding (*Annales*, ad an. 1230) Adam Marsh was present at the chapter of 1230, in company with St Anthony of Padua. As a schoolman he was known as *Doctor Illustratus*. He was an untiring collector of books, and at the same time a man of affairs. Few men in his day had a wider influence amongst the men who made English history. He had a close friendship with Grosseteste and Simon de Montfort. Wadding asserts that he refused the bishopric of Ely. He also attributes to him various commentaries on Scripture and the Sentences: but only his Letters have come down to

the grace of God, he sagaciously induced to enter the Order not long afterwards. For one night

Adam Marsh.

Brother Adam Marsh dreamt that they came to a castle, and above the gates was an image of the crucifix, which all who would pass through the gates must kiss. Now Brother Adam of Oxford went through first after kissing the crucifix, and the other Brother Adam, kissing the crucifix, followed. But the first, at once discovering the stairs in the tower, ran up so swiftly that he was soon out of sight. The other, following, cried out "Not so fast! Not so fast!" But never again was the first seen. And in truth all the brethren who were then in England could afterwards clearly understand this vision: for Brother Adam of Oxford, after entering the Order, went to Pope Gregory and, according to his own wish, was sent by him to preach among the Saracens. He died at Barlete before the death of Brother Adam Marsh, his companion, and, it is said, gained renown by his miracles. But Adam Marsh entered the Order at Worcester, from love of high poverty.

His singular dream.

us. He died in 1257 or 1258, and was buried in Lincoln Cathedral, beside Bishop Grosseteste. *Cf.* Brewer, *Mon. Franc.* i. pref. xcix.; Wadding, *Scriptores*, *sub nomine*; Sbaralea, *Supplementum*, *sub nomine*; Lanercost Chronicle, ad an. 1258.

After these came Brother John of Reading, Abbot of Osney, who left us examples of all perfection.[1] Next after him came Brother Richard Rufus, who was in much fame both at Paris and Oxford.

The Abbot of Osney.

Brother Richard Rufus.

There came also certain knights, to wit, Sir Richard Gobion, Sir Giles de Merk, Sir Thomas, a Spaniard, and Sir Henry Walpole. Concerning their entrance into the Order our Lord the King afterward remarked: "If ye Friars had been discreet in receiving brethren, if ye had not procured privileges to the injury of your fellow-men, and especially had ye not been importunate in questing, ye might have ruled over princes."

Certain knights.

After this, the number of the brethren increasing and their sanctity becoming known, the devotion of the faithful towards them increased likewise, and they became anxious to provide the brethren with suitable dwellings. Wherefore at Canter-

The Friars obtain houses and grounds.

1 Vide *Chron. of Osney*, ad an. 1235. In the *Patent Rolls* of 1235 mention is made of a licence granted to the Prior and Convent of Osney to elect an abbot in place of Abbot John, who had taken the habit of the Friars Minor. *Cfr.* Barthol. de Pisa, *De Conformit.* Fruct viii. (*Anal. Franc.* iv. p. 330), and *Chron. xxiv. Gen.* (*Anal. Franc.* iii. p. 24), where mention is made of the once Abbot of Osney, and Ralph, formerly Bishop of Hereford, assisting in the building of a house of the Friars, and carrying water and stones.

bury Sir Alexander, Master of the Priests' Hospice, made over to them a plot of ground and built them a chapel sufficiently becoming for the time; and because the brethren would receive nothing as their own, it was given to the city and the brethren were allowed to live there at the will of the citizens. Most especially, however, were the brethren cared for by Sir Simon of Longton, Archdeacon of Canterbury, and Sir Henry of Sandwich, and by the noble countess, the Lady Inclusa de Baginton,[1] who in all things cared for them even as a mother cares for her sons, diligently gaining for them the goodwill of princes and prelates, with whom she was held in favour beyond measure.

At Canterbury.

At London the brethren were befriended by Sir John Iwyn, who bought them a plot of ground and gave it to the city, but piously assigned the usufruct of it to the brethren at the will of the citizens.[2] He himself afterwards entered the Order as a lay brother and left us examples of perfect penance and high devotion. Sir Joyce Fitz Piers added to the ground. His own son, a man of good parts, afterwards devoutly entered

At London.

[1] Hackington? (Howlett.)

[2] The deed conveying the ground is given in *Registrum FF. MM.* (*Mon Franc.* i. p. 494). See Appendix.

the Order, and still more devoutly persevered unto the end. The chapel was built by Sir William Joyner,[1] at his own cost; who also gave at various times upwards of two hundred pounds towards other buildings, and until his death he continued unweariedly in spiritual friendship with the brethren,[2] bestowing upon them frequent benefactions. For the building of the infirmary Sir Peter de Helyland left one hundred pounds at his death. To Sir Henry de Fowie, and a young man of good address, Salekin de Basing,[3] was the aqueduct chiefly due, but their offerings were largely increased by the King's munificence. Many other and ever-increasing gifts have I seen in my own time in London, both as regards buildings and books and additions to the ground and for the relieving of other needs — gifts to be admired by mortal men, and provided for the brethren by the most sweet Jesus in order that they, more than others, should love

[1] Lord Mayor in 1239.

[2] *The Rule of St Francis*, chap. iv., speaks of the "spiritual friends" of the Order—*i.e.* those to whom the Friars have recourse in their temporal needs and who in return share in the spiritual treasures of the Order.

[3] Eccleston has omitted to mention William the Tailor, who gave the head of the aqueduct; and Brother William de Basing, to whose care and energy the laying of the waterpipe was due. Vide *Registrum*, ut supra.

and honour Him who is the same now and for ever.

At Oxford. At Oxford the brethren were received by Robert le Mercer, who let them a house wherein many learned bachelors and many nobles took the habit. Afterwards they rented a house from Richard le Mulliner,[1] on the ground where they now are, but within a year he gave the ground and house to the city for the use of the brethren. The ground, however, was exceedingly narrow and of no great length.[2]

At Cambridge. At Cambridge the brethren were at first received by the burgesses, who made over to them an old synagogue near the prison. But as the neighbourhood of the prison was intolerable to the brethren since both they and the gaolers had to use the same entrance, our Lord the King gave them ten marks, which was sufficient for them to buy out the lease from the court of exchequer. Then they built a chapel so very poor that one carpenter built it in one day, and in one day set up fourteen bundles of planks. So on the Feast of St Lawrence, though there were as yet but three cleric brethren, namely, Brother William of Ashby and Brother Hugh of Bugden and a novice named Brother Elias, who

[1] Miller.

[2] *Vide* Appendix.

was so lame that he had to be carried into the choir, they sang the office solemnly according to note, and the novice wept so much that the tears ran freely down his face as he sang. Now this novice afterwards dying a most holy death at York, appeared to Brother William of Ashby at Northampton, and when Brother William asked how he was, he replied: "I am well; pray for me."

How the Friars sang the office solemnly.

At Shrewsbury the King gave the brethren a plot of ground; but the church was built by a burgess, named Richard Pinde, and the other offices by a burgess named Lawrence. But Brother William, the Minister, in his zeal for poverty, ordered the stone walls in the dormitory to be removed and mud walls put up in their stead, which was done by the brethren with admirable devotion and meekness, and at great cost.

At Shrewsbury.

Brother William removes the stone walls.

CHAPTER IV

OF THE PRIMITIVE PIETY OF THE BRETHREN

THE brethren at that time, having the first-fruits of the Holy Spirit, served the Lord not so much by the observance of human constitutions as by the free outpouring of their piety, being content with their Rule and the very few other statutes which were made the same year that the Rule was confirmed.

The Friars content with few rules.

This was the first statute made by St Francis after the Rule was confirmed (as we are told by Brother Albert of pious memory): namely that the brethren when they eat with seculars should not take more than three morsels of food continuously, that the holy Gospel might be observed,[1] for a rumour had reached St Francis that the brethren ate voraciously.

The first statute.

Now the brethren were accustomed to keep silence until the hour of terce, and so assiduous were they in prayer that there was scarcely an

[1] A reference to Matthew vi. 25.

hour in the night when some one of them was not at prayer in the oratory. Moreover, on the principal feasts they chanted with such fervour that their vigils sometimes lasted the whole night, and although there might be but three or four brethren, or at the most six, they sang the office solemnly according to note. Such too was their simplicity and purity that did any of them suffer any shame he confessed it before all the brethren in chapter. There grew up amongst them a most religious custom never to swear to anything but simply to say, "Know that it is so." Were anyone accused by his superior or companion, he at once replied, "Mea culpa!"[1] and frequently prostrated. Wherefore Brother Jordan of holy memory, Master-General of the Friars Preachers, related how when the devil once appeared to him he said that this "Mea culpa!" snatched from his grasp whatever he had hoped to get from amongst the Friars Minor, since whenever one offended against another he always acknowledged his fault to the other.

Their silence.

Their piety.

Yet the brethren at all times were so joyful and merry amongst themselves that they could scarcely restrain their laughter even if they merely exchanged a glance. Whence it happened that at

[1] "'Tis my fault!"

Oxford, where the young brethren were frequently given to much laughter, it was enjoined on one of them to take the discipline[1] as often as he laughed in the choir or the refectory. Now it happened that one day when he had received the discipline eleven times and nevertheless could not restrain himself from laughing, one night following he dreamt that the whole community were standing according to their custom in the choir, and as usual the brethren were tempted to laugh, when behold! the crucifix which stood at the door of the choir turned towards them, as though it were alive, and said, "they are the sons of Core who at the time of divine office laugh and sleep."[2] It seemed to him also that the figure on the crucifix strove to free its hands from the cross as though wishing to come down and go away, but the Guardian immediately went up and made the nails fast so that the figure could not come down. When this dream was related to the brethren they were terrified, and henceforth bore themselves more seriously and without overmuch laughter.[3]

Their joyfulness.

[1] The discipline is the little scourge used for self-mortification.

[2] *Cfr.* Numbers xvi.

[3] See the curious variation of this story in Barth. de Pisa, *De Conformit*, Fruct. xiii. *Anal. Franc.* iv. p. 331—where it is said that the brethren were so mightily struck with fear "that many of them died within a short time."

So jealous were they for the truth that they would hardly permit themselves to speak in hyperbole, nor would they conceal their faults even when they knew that they would be punished did they confess. Whether in going to new places or in abiding in the place they were already in they made no difficulty, nor in regard to any matter or place whatsoever, once they knew it was the superior's will. Whence it happened that brethren, noble by birth or in other ways, who were notable men in the world and most respected in the Order, would, without a murmur, allow themselves to be sent to places which in those days might be said to be simple wildernesses. This only, in the sweetness of their souls, seemed to sadden them, that they should have to separate from each other; wherefore the brethren would frequently accompany those who were sent away unto a far distance, and at parting copious tears of affection would show how they loved one another.[1]

Their love of truth.

Their obedience.

Their love for each other.

1 Compare Leg. 3 Soc. cap. xi.

CHAPTER V

OF THOSE WHO WERE SENT TO PREACH

ALTHOUGH the brethren were in all things chiefly concerned for simplicity of life and purity of conscience, they nevertheless were so intent on acquiring a knowledge of Scripture and the scholastic courses that they did not hesitate to go daily to the theological schools, no matter how great the distance; and they went barefoot even in severe cold and deep mud. Wherefore after a time many of them, with the help of the Holy Ghost, were found worthy to be given the office of preacher. The first of these was Brother Hugh of Baldock of happy memory; then Brother Philip of Longton, and Brother William of Ashby. This last preached the Word of God both to the clergy and laity, and not only by word of mouth but by his exemplary devotion.

Their zeal for learning.

The first preachers. Brother Hugh of Baldock.

But the entrance into the Order of Brother

Haymo of Faversham[1] caused the number of preachers to be greatly increased, and gave them influence and fame. For he was a priest and a celebrated preacher

Brother Haymo of Faversham.

[1] Haymo of Faversham entered the Order at Paris about 1225. He shortly afterwards became Custos of Paris, and possibly attended the General Chapter of 1230 in that capacity. He next lectured at Tours, Bologna and Padua and, according to Wadding, at Paris. In 1233 he was a member of the embassy sent by Gregory IX. to the Patriarch of Constantinople to negotiate for the union of the Greek and Latin Churches. He was also employed by Gregory IX. in the work of revising the Roman Breviary. In the Chapter of 1239 he took a prominent part against Elias, and was appointed Minister of the English Province, but the year following he was elected Minister-General on the death of Albert of Pisa. At the Chapter which elected him, he introduced various legislative measures of importance—*e.g.* he determined the powers of local superiors and enacted that no lay brother should be appointed superior, except where there was no priest capable of the office. Sabatier (*Opuscules*, p. 114) regards his election as a triumph of the moderate party in the Order, which is probably correct. Eccleston shows him as a man alive to the new needs of the Order in face of its numerical increase (*vide infra*, chap. ix. p. 61); though he was certainly jealous for poverty, as his impeachment of Elias testifies. Wadding (*Scriptores Ord. Min.*) says he wrote, besides his commentaries on the Sentences (which every medieval Reader had to write), a work on the Ceremonies of the Mass, and a book of Sermons. Amongst the Schoolmen he was styled, after the fashion of the time, *Speculum honestatis*. Cf. *Anal. Franc.* iii. p. 246; Wadding, *Annales*, ad an. 1239; *Scriptores*, *sub nomine*.

at the time he entered the Order, and he entered at Saint Deny's together with three other masters of the university, on a Good Friday. Now whilst Brother Haymo was yet in the world, he had worn a hair-shirt even to his knees, and in many other ways was an example of penance; from which cause he became at length so weak and delicate that he could scarcely live save by the use of soft and warm clothing.[1]

His vision.

Now it happened that he had a vision. He was at Faversham, and was praying in the church before the crucifix when behold there was let down from heaven a cord, and he took hold of it and was drawn up by it into heaven. When therefore he saw the Friars Minor at Paris, mindful of his vision, he took courage and setting himself against himself, sagely proposed to his fellow-master, Simon of Sandwich, and to two other famous masters, that whilst he himself celebrated Mass, they should all beseech the Lord Jesus Christ to make known to them what would be most conducive to their salvation. And the life of the Friars Minor commended itself to them all at the same time; but for greater assurance they went to Brother Jordan of holy memory, the Master-General of the

Simon of Sandwich.

[1] Brewer has: "*nisi in assatis vesceretur et callidis vivere non posset.*"

Friars Preachers, and put it on his conscience to give them faithfully his advice. And he, as one who was truthfully inspired, confirmed them by his counsel in their desire. These four therefore betook themselves to the Minister-Provincial, Brother Gregory of Naples,[1] and by him were received at Saint Deny's on Good Friday, after Brother Haymo had preached from the text: "When the Lord turned back the captivity of Zion, we were like men comforted."[2] And they were clothed, to their great joy.

But on Easter Sunday Brother Haymo saw a great crowd of people in the parish church where the brethren heard Mass (for they themselves had not yet a chapel), and he told the Guardian, a lay brother named Vincent, that if he might dare to do so, he would willingly preach to the people, lest any of them should communicate in mortal sin. The Guardian, therefore, on the part of the Holy Ghost, commanded him to preach. Whereupon Brother Haymo preached so earnestly that many

Brother Haymo preaches to the people.

1 This Gregory of Naples was one of the vicars appointed to govern the Order during St Francis' absence in the East in 1219-1220. The first house of the Friars in Paris was in the parish of St Deny's; but they removed to Vauvert in 1224 or 1225 (cf. *Anal. Franc.* iii. p. 24, note).

2 Psalm cxxv. 1, 2 (Vulgate).

put off their communion till they had confessed to him. And he sat for three days in the church hearing confessions, and comforted the people not a little.

His influence with prelates and nobles.

And so, as has already been said, after the brethren had come to England, Brother Haymo came also; and both in preaching and in disputations in the schools, and especially by securing the favour of prelates, he was very useful to the first brethren in their simplicity. For so pleasant was his address and so eloquent was he, that even with those who were opposed to the Order he himself was popular and acceptable. Wherefore he was first appointed Guardian of Paris and afterwards Reader at Tours, Bologna, and Padua.[1] Moreover he was sent by Pope Gregory as legate, together with Brother Ralph of Rheims of happy memory, to Vataztes, Emperor in Greece.

Is sent as Papal Legate to Greece.

Brings about the deposition of Brother Gregory of Naples and Brother Elias.

He too it was who caused Brother Gregory of Naples, Minister of France, who lived at Paris, to be removed from the ministry on account of his demerits, and by a just judgment of God to be imprisoned; whilst those whom the Minister had unjustly thrown into prison were set free. Moreover, by the wonderful mercy of God

[1] An. 1233. *Vide* Wadding, *Annales*, ad an. 1233.

he cast down Brother Elias, the Minister-General, because of the scandals which he wrought and the tyranny with which he pursued the more zealous brethren in the Order.[1] For Brother Haymo brought about that many of the provinces should appeal against Brother Elias, in the very presence of our father Pope Gregory. Who will dare presume on his own merits, who will dare think himself safe, when he knows such men to have come to so great a fall! For in the university of Paris and amongst all the clergy of France who was comparable to Brother Gregory as a preacher and a ruler? Who in the whole of Christendom was more agreeable in manners or more famous than Brother Elias? Nevertheless, the one at the end merited life-long imprisonment,[2] the other, on account of his disobedience and apostasy, incurred the excommunication of the Sovereign Pontiff. Both, however, repented though in the evening of life.

With Brother Haymo there also came to England

1 "Zelatores Ordinis," the name given to those who were zealous for the primitive simplicity and poverty of the Order.

2 Gregory was imprisoned in 1240 when Haymo became Minister-General. He was however eventually released; and became Bishop of Bayeux in 1274. He died in 1276. (Eubel, *Hier. Cath.* p. 127.)

Brother William de Colville.

Brother William de Colville the elder, a man of great simplicity and exceeding charity, whose sister was afterwards most cruelly murdered in the Cathedral at Chichester because of her chastity. For a certain youth, because of her beauty, had long desired to meet her alone and seduce her; and when he could by no artifice lead her astray, he proved how wicked carnal love may be by killing her in the church. Indeed, with those who love according to the flesh it frequently happens that according to the measure with which they love at first they afterwards come to hate.

His sister murdered in Chichester Cathedral.

Brother Nicholas Rufus.

Now after this[1] many other distinguished brethren came to England, who were English by birth, but had entered the Order at Paris, whom, whilst I was yet in secular dress, I myself saw. There was Brother Nicholas Rufus, a reader of great merit, who, being zealous for the reformation of the Order, went afterwards with Brother Haymo to represent France in the appeal against Brother Elias at the Papal Court. This Brother Nicholas related that a certain novice once told him how he had suffered from continual thirst, so that he was unable to sleep at night; and there appeared to him a handsome man

Of a certain novice who suffered from thirst.

[1] *I.e.* the coming of Brother Haymo and William de Colville.

in the habit of the brethren, who commanded him to rise and follow; which he did and was led unto a most pleasant place and taken into a most beautiful palace, and given a most delightful drink. And his companion said to him: "Brother, as often as thou art thirsty come hither to me and I shall give thee to drink." Then the novice asked him who he was, who replied that he was Brother Francis. The novice returning to himself, suffered no further temptation from thirst, but awaking, found himself refreshed and comforted both in mind and body.

Brother Ralph de Rose.

At that time came also Brother Ralph de Rose, who because of the exceeding charm of his preaching was come into great favour with the Lord King of England. But his end proved how injurious to God is the friendship of the world, and how harmful to the simplicity of the Order of Friars Minor it is to be uplifted by the favour of the great, and to dwell constantly at the courts of princes.

Brother Henry of Burford.

Then came Brother Henry of Burford, who whilst yet a novice and cantor to the brethren at Paris, composed during a meditation the following verses against the temptations which troubled him:—

"Qui Minor es, noli ridere, tibi quia soli
Convenit ut plores; jungas cum nomine mores:

Nomine tu Minor es, Minor actibus esto, labores
Perfer, et ingentem nunciat patientia mentem.
Nempe cor objurgat, per nam patientia purgat
Si quicquam facis, est siquis te corripit? is est,
Qui te custodit; non te, sed quod facis, ordit,
Quid tibi cum vili veste, cibs, quoque cubile?
Peccator certe, tu singula perdis aperte
Si mentitus eris factis quod veste fateris.
Umbra minoris erit, qui nulla re sua quærit."[1]

Now Brother Henry, because of his high character, afterwards was found worthy to be the special companion of four Ministers-General and of four Provincials in England, and for a long time he was interpreter and preacher to the Patriarch of Antioch, when this prelate was legate in

1 "Thou who art a Friar Minor, laugh not; for it becomes thee only to weep. A Minor in name, be a Minor in manners. Thou art a Minor by name; be, then, a Minor in deeds. Shirk not labour, and let thy patience prove the greatness of thy mind. Should thy heart reprove thee, then patience will cleanse thee, if perhaps thou art guilty. Is it that someone corrects thee? It is he who has charge over thee, and he hates, not thee, but what thou hast done. And what with thy coarse garment, food, and cell? Surely thou art a sinner, and wilt plainly lose everything if thy deeds belie what thy garment professes. He is the shadow of a Minor who seeks nothing as his own." The reader will bear in mind that St Francis called his brethren Minors because they were to consider themselves the least amongst men according to the Gospel (Matthew xxiii. 11, 12).

Lombardy.[1] Afterwards he became penitentiary of our Lord Pope Gregory IX., Custos of Venice, and Vicar to the Custos of London.

Brother Henry of Reasby.

Then came Brother Henry of Reasby, who from being Vicar to the Custos of Oxford was appointed Minister of Scotland, but died before he could proceed thither. After his death he appeared to the Custos of Oxford, and said that if the brethren were not damned for that they expended more than they should upon their buildings, they would nevertheless be grievously punished; and he added that if the brethren should recite the divine office with devotion, they would be the sheep of the Apostles.

Brother Martin Barton.

There came also Brother Martin Barton, who was found worthy frequently to see the blessed Francis. He was afterwards Vicar to the Minister of England, and bore himself well in many other offices. He related how at a certain General Chapter[2] there were five thousand brethren present, and the blessed Francis ordered a house to be pulled down which had been built to accommodate the Chapter. But Brother Martin's own brother in the flesh was the Seneschal

1 Albert, Pat. of Antioch, legate in Lombardy in 1235 (Eubel, *Hier. Cath.* i. p. 93).

2 The celebrated Chapter of Mats.

of the Chapter, and on the part of the city, forbade it to be pulled down.

St Francis once sent Brother Martin with a letter to the Minister and brethren of France, which letter he wrote with his own hand in the open air. And it was raining, but the rain did not wet St Francis. And he ordered the brethren when they should receive the letter to sing the praises of the most Holy Trinity, saying: "Let us praise the Father and the Son with the Holy Ghost." That same day our Father preserved unhurt a brother who had fallen into a well, for as soon as he heard what had happened, he ran to the church and poured forth his prayers for him. Brother Martin also related how another brother was found unhurt under a heap of stones, who had been praying at Brescia on Christmas Day when there came a great earthquake, and the church fell: which earthquake had been predicted by St Francis in a letter written chiefly in the Latin tongue,[1] and which he had caused to be announced by the brethren in all the schools of Bologna. This earthquake happened before the war of the Emperor Frederic and continued for forty days, so that every mountain in Lombardy was shaken.

[1] Howlett's edition of Eccleston has *falsum latinum—i.e.* "written in bad Latin."

And then Brother Peter the Spaniard came, who afterwards was appointed Guardian of Northampton. He used to wear an iron corslet for the overcoming of temptations of the flesh.

Brother Peter the Spaniard.

Now he had in his convent a novice, who was tempted to leave the Order. At length with difficulty he persuaded the novice to go with him to the Minister. Whilst therefore they were going together on their way Brother Peter began to speak of the virtue of holy obedience, and lo! a wood-pigeon came and went before them on the road. The novice, whose name was Stephen, said to Brother Peter: "Father, if it be as you say, command in virtue of obedience that I capture this wood-pigeon, and that it wait for me." Brother Peter did as he was asked, and the bird immediately stood still. Then the novice approached and laid hold of it and handled it as he wished. Immediately all his temptation vanished, and God gave him another heart; and he at once returned to Northampton and made his profession with the purpose of persevering to the end, and afterwards he became a famous preacher, as I myself saw.

CHAPTER VI

OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CUSTODIES[1]

THE brethren having greatly increased from day to day both in merits and in numbers, and their houses being also multiplied, it seemed expedient that the province should be divided into custodies. The province, therefore, was divided at the first Provincial Chapter of London. Now each custody was remarkable for some singular note of sanctity. Thus in the custody of London, governed by that Brother Gilbert to whom the Blessed Virgin appeared at the hour of death, there especially flourished the spirit of fervour, reverence, and devotion in the reciting of the divine office. In the Custody of Oxford, presided over by Brother William of Ashby, there especially flourished zeal for learning.

Each custody has its special mark of sanctity.

Devotion at London.

Learning at Oxford.

[1] A custody is a division of a province. When a province becomes too large to be governed efficiently by a Minister-Provincial it is divided into custodies, and each custody is governed by a custos, in subordination to the Minister.

In the Custody of Cambridge, of which Brother Richard of Ingworth was the Custos, flourished especially a lack of temporal goods, so much so that until the time of the first visitation of England by Brother Albert of Pisa, as he himself related, the brethren of this custody did not use mantles.

Poverty at Cambridge.

In the Custody of York, presided over by Brother Martin Barton, there flourished zeal for poverty, and he would not permit that a greater number of brethren should dwell in any one place than could be sustained there by questing without recourse to debts. In the Custody of Salisbury, under Brother Stephen, there flourished mutual love. Brother Stephen himself was a man of great sweetness and cheerfulness and of exceeding charity and compassion, so that he would never allow anyone to be sad if he could by any means prevent him.

And at York.

Mutual love at Salisbury.

Now when he came to die and they brought him the Saving Host, he beheld in the Host the door by which he would enter into eternal life, and singing with a loud voice: "Salve Regina misericordiæ" died happily at Salisbury.

In the Custody of Worcester, over which Brother ——— [1] of Leicester presided, there

[1] Name omitted in text.

especially flourished the primitive simplicity; for this Brother ———, a man of small body but large heart, always studied to observe the greatest simplicity, and brought many simple persons into the Order. At length, with tears and a loud cry, he gave up his simple and holy soul into the hands of the Lord, dying at Worcester.

Simplicity at Worcester.

Now in the Custody of Oxford, of which Brother Peter was Custos for twelve years, the brethren did not use pillows until the time when Brother Albert was Minister. Wherefore when in the chapter Brother Albert remarked that it was unbecoming that the brethren should make little bundles on which to rest their heads, the Custos replied that they knew well enough how that the brethren were carnal, and it was not expedient to tell them this. Neither did the brethren use sandals, unless they were sick or delicate, and then only with leave. Now it once happened that Brother Walter of Madeley [1] of happy memory found a pair of sandals and put them on when he went to matins. And whilst he stood at matins it seemed to him that

Austerity at Oxford.

[1] *Vide* Adæ de Mar. *Epist.* cxcvii. (ed. Brewer), p. 353, in which Adam Marsh complains to the Minister-Provincial that Walter of Madeley is not furnished with the books needful to him as Reader.

he was more comfortable than he was wont to be. But afterwards, when he went to bed and had fallen asleep, he dreamed that he was passing along a certain dangerous road that runs between Oxford and Bagley,[1] in Gloucestershire, where robbers were usually found; and when he had come down into a deep valley, robbers came running out on either side crying out: "Kill him! kill him!" Much frightened, Brother Walter told them that he was a Friar Minor, but they replied, "Thou dost lie, for thou goest not unshod." And he, believing himself to be, as usual, barefooted, said, "Nay, but I am unshod," and thereupon confidently raised a foot. But in the robbers' presence he found himself shod in the aforesaid sandals. In great trouble of mind he then awoke, and, taking the sandals, threw them out into the middle of the garden.

[1] Boysaly.

CHAPTER VII

OF THE COMMISSARIES SENT TO VISIT THE PROVINCE

AFTER these things it happened that special visitors[1] were sent to England, who on account of their visitations held chapters. The first visitor to England, however, was Brother William de Colville the elder, who held a chapter at London during the ministry of Brother Agnellus. Now a chapel had been built for the brethren in London at the expense of Sir William Joyner, and he took the occasion of this chapter to celebrate the opening with a splendour to be remembered.

Brother William de Colville's Visitation.

After this came Brother John of Malvern, who for the first time brought over the explanation of the Rule according to the Lord Pope Gregory IX.[2] On account of the Visitation, therefore, he as-

Brother John of Malvern.

[1] A visitor is one sent in the name of the Minister-General to inspect the working of a province. Brother Elias, the Minister-General, endeavoured to use the visitors as agents for his own schemes.

[2] The Bull *Quo elongati*, of 8th September 1230.

sembled the brethren, even the novices, in great numbers, under Brother Agnellus in London, Leicester, and Bristol. At that time so strict was the conscience of the brethren regarding the building of houses and the possession of pictures that the visitor . . . because of the windows[1] in the chapel at Gloucester; moreover, he deprived a brother of his hood because he had decorated a pulpit with pictures, and inflicted the same penance upon the Guardian of the place because he had permitted the pictures to be painted.

Punishes a brother for painting a pulpit.

The third visitor came as a delegate of Brother Elias, the Minister-General during the ministry of Brother Albert.[2] He was Brother Wygmund, a German, and a man very famous for his knowledge of law and noted for the integrity of his conduct. He was, moreover, very familiar with the Lord Cardinal Otho, at that time legate in England.[3]

The delegate of Brother Elias.

Now he had received very strict and cunning instructions from the Minister-General, especially

[1] MS. here undecipherable.

[2] See Chronica F. Jordani a Jano, p. 62: "Anno Domini 1237, *Frater Helias ad singulas provincias visitatores suo convenientes proposito destinavit*," etc. (*Anal. Franc.* i. 18).

[3] Otho was legate in England *an.* 1237-1241.

that any brother should be *ipso facto* excommunicated who should in any way conceal aught from him, or make known to others what he should say to the brother, from which excommunication none could absolve save the visitor himself. Moreover he was to carry all accusations to the Minister-General; wherefore there arose amongst the brethren such trouble of mind as had never before been known in the Order, for the brethren, being called to chapter at London, Southampton, Gloucester, and Oxford, came to these places in numbers exceedingly great[1] and protracted the chapter beyond all measure: and because of their accusations against each other and of the talk of seculars who were not of the chapter, there suddenly arose throughout the whole province an intolerable confusion. The Visitation being at length somehow concluded, a Provincial Chapter was held

Causes a turmoil in the province.

[1] In the beginning of the Order all the brethren attended the chapters. Afterwards, towards the end of St Francis' life, the custom seems to have grown up that only superiors should attend. The Rule of 1223 (cap. 8) speaks of the Ministers-Provincial and the custodes assembling in Chapter to elect the General. Otherwise the Rule is very vague on this point. Brother Elias at the chapter which re-elected John Parenti (*cf.* Eccleston, cap. xii.) summoned all his own partisans. It would seem that in reviving the primitive custom, Brother Elias aimed at securing his personal domination over the Order.

at Oxford, which unanimously appealed against Brother Elias in the matter of the Visitation; for the visitor had power, and had received instructions to act further in a way which would have brought grave injury to the brethren. He went away, therefore, to the Province of Scotland, and, convoking a chapter, purposed to make a Visitation. But the brethren at once drew up an appeal and presented it, saying that as they had already been visited on the part of the General Chapter by the Minister of Ireland they would not receive another visitor. Therefore having everywhere caused confusion, and being himself a little perturbed, Brother Wygmund returned to Germany, taking with him the report of his Visitation, and Brother William of Ashby, whom he had sent to Ireland for the purpose of making a Visitation there, joined him at Cologne, affairs being yet unsettled.[1]

The Friars appeal against him.

The Friars in Scotland refused to receive him.

Wherefore when the brethren arrived in Rome[2] at once they petitioned that in future the Visitation of the Provinces should be made only by

1 The brethren of Saxony appealed against the Visitation in 1238. *Cf.* Chron. Jordani a Jano, p. 63 (*Anal. Franc.* tom. i.).

2 *I.e.* the delegates sent by the province to carry the appeal.

authority of the General Chapter, in accordance with the constitution concerning visitors.

It was said by Brother Arnulph, penitentiary of our Lord the Pope, that the devil incarnate could not have invented a more subtle or more certain scheme for ensnaring souls than was this Visitation.

In the Visitation Chapter, however, Brother William de Colville did indeed preach against contracting debts, and said that it was with procurators as with a certain priest who was accustomed every year to make a feast on St Nicholas' Day[1]; but he became so poor one year that he could not afford his accustomed banquet. The day, however, came round, and as he lay on his bed he heard the bells ring out for matins. And the first bell, as it swung backwards and forwards, seemed to him to say: "Io ke fray; io ke fray?" and the second bell, swinging forwards and backwards, replied: "A crey; a crey." But whilst he was thinking how he might repay the debt the bells rang out together, and seemed to say: "Ke de un, ke de el; ke de un, ke de el."[2] And

Brother William de Colville preaches against contracting debts.

[1] 6th December.

[2] "What shall I do? What shall I do?" "Borrow, borrow!" "Something from one; something from another." Compare modern Italian: "Io che farrei." "A credito."

rising up, he borrowed what he needed and made a feast. This sermon was applauded by the chapter.[1]

At another Visitation Chapter held by Brother Wygred, many accusations were made against Brother Eustace de Merc of holy memory, at that time Guardian of Oxford, and for a day and a half he was excluded from the chapter. Now there was another brother, the accusations against whom were little credited, and he was at once acquitted. Whereupon he cried out, "Miserable me! that a man of such acknowledged sanctity, of proved religious spirit and exceeding discretion, should be so visited; and I to have escaped! Who now will set store by the judgments of men?"

Brother Eustace de Merc is harshly credited.

[1] This is the chapter above mentioned, p. 50.

CHAPTER VIII

OF THE DIVISION OF THE PROVINCE

Some time having elapsed since the coming of the brethren to England, Brother Elias, the Minister-General, now demanded that the English Province be divided into two provinces; the one to be styled the Province of Scotland, and the other the Province of England as heretofore; for he wished, it was said, that as the Order of Preachers had twelve Priors-Provincial scattered throughout the whole world, after the manner of the twelve Apostles, so in like fashion he might have under his authority seventy-two Ministers after the manner of the seventy-two disciples.

Brother Henry of Reasby[1] therefore was appointed Minister of Scotland, but before he received his letter of obedience, he died. Whereupon Brother John of Keton, Guardian of London, succeeded him, and he caused all the houses beyond York to be included in his province. He afterwards received many useful and honest persons into the Order.

John of Keton appointed Minister of Scotland.

[1] See chap. v.

He was himself a model of piety, being most zealous for the divine office. It was he who received with becoming reverence our venerable father, Brother Albert, at our house in Leicester, and humbly besought him to expound the Rule to the brethren. Now when he had laudably governed the Province of Scotland for many years, and that province was again united to England, Brother John was sent by Brother Albert, then Minister-General, to be Minister in Ireland. Nor ought it to be forgotten that at the General Chapter of Genoa, Brother John of Keton, together with Brother Gregory de Bossells,[1] faithfully stood by Brother William of Nottingham of happy memory, the Minister of England, and in opposition to almost the entire chapter fortunately brought it to pass that the privilege granted by our Lord the Pope to receive money through procurators be altogether abolished, and that, moreover, the interpretation of the Rule by the Lord Pope Innocent,

The England Friars zealous for poverty.

1 *Vide* Adæ de Marisco, *Epist.* ccvii. (ed. Brewer), p. 368, in which Adam Marsh asks the Minister-Provincial to allow Gregory de Bossells to ride in a carriage, whilst he is in the service of the Archbishop of Canterbury. In the same letter and in *Epist.* clvii. mention is made of the anxiety of Simon de Montfort to secure the service of Gregory in Gascony. In *Epist.* clxx. p. 307, he mentions that Gregory is about to accompany the Archbishop to Rome.

in those matters in which it was more lax than the interpretation of Pope Gregory, should be put aside. Brother John also spoke before all the General Definitors in favour of the reconciliation of Brother Elias and to obtain that certain brethren be sent to exhort him not to put off his return to the obedience of the Church and the Order. Such, too, was his care to foster study that he caused to be bought at Paris a Bible with a complete commentary and had it sent to Ireland. Finally, he had so wonderful a gift for consoling the brethren in their troubles, that many brethren who were disconsolate in their own provinces, fled to him and under him seemed to prosper. But when he had been Minister for twenty [1] years he was released from the office by the Chapter of Metz, at which chapter also Brother William, the Minister of England, was released.[2]

Now when Brother Elias was deposed it was decreed that there should be only thirty-two Provinces in the Order — sixteen ultramontane and sixteen cismontane. For since the Ministers

[1] The York MS. says *ten* (Brewer).

[2] See chapter xiv., at p. 233, note. The following passage seems to have been inserted here as an afterthought :—" In the time of Brother John, Brother Elias had commanded the brethren to wash their own clothes. The brethren of the Province of England therefore did as they were commanded ; but the brethren of the Province of Scotland awaited their own rescript."

and Custodes elect the Minister-General, if there be too great a number of voters in electing and legislating it is hardly possible to get affairs settled, since the consent of so many persons would be required, and in a multitude there is confusion.

CHAPTER IX

HOW THE BRETHREN ACQUIRED NEW PLACES

THE number of the brethren having increased from day to day, the houses and ground which sufficed for them when they were a few could not contain them when they were a multitude. Moreover, by the providence of God such persons frequently entered the Order for whom it seemed but right to make more honourable provision. And in some places the brethren had in their simplicity, without thought of the future, so situated themselves that their places could not be enlarged, and so they had to remove elsewhere. Hence it happened that even during the lifetime of Brother Agnellus of happy memory there was a large increase both of houses and places; yet so great was his zeal for poverty he would never permit any ground to be enlarged nor any house to be built except as inevitable necessity required. This was clearly shown in the infirmary at Oxford, which he built in such humble fashion that the height of the walls did not much exceed the height of a man,

The poverty of the first buildings.

and even until the time of Brother Albert this same house was without a guest-room. In London Brother Albert had the walls of the dormitory rebuilt of stone in place of the mud walls, but left the roof as it was. Under him also the place at Northampton was changed, and too, the places at Worcester[1] and Hereford.

So too, under Brother Haymo the grounds were enlarged in various places, for he said "he would rather the brethren should have ample ground and cultivate it, and so supply themselves with messes when they were at home, than that they should beg their food from others." This he said on the occasion of the enlargement of the ground at Gloucester, where the brethren had formerly, by the decision of Brother Agnellus, parted with a large plot of ground, which was afterwards with great difficulty again acquired from Sir Thomas Berkeley through the sagacity and devotion of his wife.[2]

Brother Haymo increases the grounds.

[1] *Close Rolls Hen. III.*, an. 1232, m. 8, mention a royal grant of timber to Friars Minor at Northampton; in the same *Rolls*, an. 1231, m. 2, leave is granted the Friars of Worcester to enlarge their gate in the city wall.

[2] The original deed of restoration is still kept in the archives of the city of Gloucester. See Professor Little, *Occasional Papers*, vi. p. 5. The *Close Rolls Hen. III.*, an. 1231, mention a royal gift of timber from the forest of Dene to the Friars at Gloucester for the building of a house.

Under Brother William the place at York was changed, as also those at Bristol and Bridgewater.[1] At Grimsby and Oxford, however, the places were sufficiently large. Nevertheless, a certain brother (whom some styled "Brother William's soul," for that this latter had written to him with his own hand, and with exceeding affection, at a time when the brother was in great desolation of spirit), having in pleasantry said that he would accuse him to the Minister-General for not enclosing the place at London, Brother William warmly replied: "And I will tell the Minister-General that I did not become a friar for the purpose of building walls." In the same spirit of poverty he had the roof of the chapel in London taken off, and ordered the embossments in the cloister to be scraped away. Yet he sometimes said to that same brother who was his intimate friend, that it was well that our houses should be sufficiently large, lest the brethren who came afterwards should make them too large.

Brother William of Nottingham refuses to build.

Now Brother Robert of Slapton told me that it once happened that the brethren were in a certain

[1] *Patent Rolls Hen. III.*, an. 1246, m. 8, conveys to bailiffs of Bridgewater the King's approval of the assignment they had made to the Friars Minor of land for the building of a house and church in that town.

place which was lent to them before they had yet acquired a site for their house, and it seemed to the brother Guardian that St Francis came to the place, and the brethren went to meet him and led him into the solarium, and there the Saint sat for a long time in silence, looking about him. And the brethren being astonished, the Guardian asked: "Father, of what art thou thinking?" And St Francis answered: "Look around at this house." And the Guardian looked, and saw that the whole house was built of twigs, mud, and refuse. And St Francis said: "Such ought to be the houses of the Friars Minor." Then the Guardian took water and washed St Francis' feet, and kissed the stigmata in the feet. These things, I believe, happened to Brother Robert himself.

St Francis appears to Brother Robert of Slapton.

I myself saw a famous preacher who publicly confessed that through the worries of building houses in a certain place he had lost the inclination to preach, and the devotion which he used to have. And Brother John, visitor of the Order of Preachers in England, related of Brother William of Abingdon that before he had built the houses at Gloucester he had an incomparable gift of preaching, and that such a preacher as he, and one so gracious in

Some anecdotes.

speech, ought never to have been occupied with buildings. For, said Brother John, the anxieties of questing had so degraded Brother William as to cause the King of England once to exclaim, "Brother William, there was a time when thou couldst speak of spiritual things; now all thou canst say is, Give, give, give!" Another time Brother William was conversing with the King and flattering him, hoping thereby to obtain something,[1] and the King called him a serpent.

The Lord Abbot of Chertsey also related to me how that a certain friend of his of the Order of Preachers came to him begging for wood, and the Abbot gave him one piece. But his friend said it seemed hard to have been put to so much trouble for the sake of getting but one piece of wood. So the Abbot gave him a second piece. But the Preacher went on to say that as God was a Trinity he ought to have given three pieces; whereupon the Abbot replied, "By God who is One, thou shalt now have but one piece."

Now when Brother Henry of Burford was entered at Paris, there were in that convent not more than about thirty brethren, and they built

[1] In the *Liberate Rolls*, an. 1244, is an order "to pay to Friar William of Abingdon and the Friars Preachers of Gloucester, 20 marks of the King's gift for the fabric of their Church."

for themselves a place called Vauvert,[1] and the house was so spacious and lofty that many of the brethren considered it contrary to the poverty of the Order. Wherefore some of them, and above all Brother Agnellus, prayed to the blessed Francis that he would destroy it. And behold, when the brethren ought to have entered into it by divine intervention not one was able to take up his abode there, for the roof and the walls collapsed even to the very basement. These verses also were found written in the place:—

"Gratia divina docuit presente ruina
Quod contentus homo sit breviore domo."[2]

And so the brethren gave up the ground.

[1] The Friars at Paris removed from St Deny's to Vauvert in 1224: but the house here referred to must have been built later, after St Francis' death.

[2] "By the present ruin grace divine has taught
That man be content with a dwelling short."

CHAPTER X

OF THE DIVINITY READERS

SEEING how that place was increasing where the highest learning in England flourished, and where scholars from all parts were accustomed to gather,[1] Brother Agnellus had a school of becoming dimensions built in the convent of the brethren and besought Master Robert Grosseteste of holy memory to lecture to them.[2] Under him they made exceeding progress in a short time, both as to the matter of their sermons and to the arts proper for preaching. When he by divine Providence was translated from the lecturer's chair to the episcopal, that Master Peter lectured to the brethren, who was afterwards promoted to be Bishop in Scotland. To him succeeded Master Roger de Wesham, who became Dean of the Church of Lincoln, and after that, Bishop of Coventry. In like manner when Master Thomas

Brother Agnellus establishes a school at Oxford

Grosseteste lectures to the Friars.

Other readers.

[1] *I.e.* Oxford.

[2] *Vide* Appendix II.

of Wales had laudably lectured to the brethren in the same place, he was taken away to be Bishop of St David's in Wales.[1] Now as these Masters continued favourable unto the brethren, the deeds and fame of the brethren went forth into many places, so much so that the good report of the English brethren and their progress in studies was spoken of in the other provinces of the Order, and the Minister-General, Brother Elias, sent Brother Philip of Wales and Brother Adam of York [2] to read divinity at Lyons. Moreover, when Brother Albert arrived in England he instituted Brother Vincent of Coventry Reader at London, and Brother Henry (brother-german to Brother Vincent), Reader at Canterbury. In a little while, too, there were Readers at various other places—Brother William of Leicester at Hereford, Brother Gregory de Bossells at Leicester, Brother Gilbert of Cranford at Bristol, Brother John of Weston at Cambridge, and Brother Adam Marsh at Oxford. And thus the gift of wisdom flowed out over the English Province, so that before

The fame of the English Friars spreads abroad.

Readers established at London and elsewhere.

[1] Grosseteste was Bishop of Lincoln A.D. 1235-1252; Wesham, Bishop of Coventry, 1245-1256; Thomas of Wales, Bishop of St David's, 1248-1255.

[2] *Cfr.* Sbaralea, *Supplementum*.

Brother William of Nottingham had completed his ministry there were in England thirty Readers who held solemn disputations, and three or four who read without disputations. For he placed students in the universities for each Readership, who were to succeed the actual Readers when these died or were removed.

Omitting, therefore, other matters, we will now briefly tell of the Readers in the universities. Some there were who took their place as Masters, others read as Bachelors. The first of the brethren to read at Oxford was, as I have said, Brother Adam Marsh. The second, Brother Ralph of Colebrook,[1] had already presided in a praiseworthy manner at Paris (in fact, as Regent in Theology he entered there), whence he was sent by the Minister-General to preside over the school at Oxford, where he read even whilst a novice. The third was Brother Eustace de Normanville.

Readers at the universities.

At Oxford.

[Of him Brother Peter, Minister of England, said he gave greater edification than others by his entrance into the Order, because he was

[1] *Cfr.* Wadding, *Annales*, ad. an. 1270; Sbaralea, *Supplem. ad Scriptores*, p. 642. Ralph of Colebrook is erroneously styled *de Coleburg* by Wadding and other writers. Colebrook, the ancient Pontes of Antoninus, is on the confines of Buckinghamshire and Middlesex (*vide* Appendix).

noble by birth and very rich and had taken his degrees in arts and law; moreover, he was Chancellor of Oxford and took his degree in Theology with ease.][1]

The fourth was Brother Thomas of York,[2] and the fifth Brother Richard of Cornwall.[3] This last took the habit at Paris at the time Brother Elias was causing disturbance throughout the whole Order. With much courage and devotion he made his profession in England during the same trouble and whilst the appeal against Brother Elias was still pending. Afterwards he gave a course of lectures on the Sentences at Paris, where

[1] This passage is a later addition. In *Anal. Franc.* it is put at the end of this chapter.

[2] *Cfr.* Sbaralea, *Supplementum*, p. 675. *Vide* Adæ de Marisco, *Epistolæ*, clxxxviii. p. 388; cxcii. p. 346 (ed. Brewer) for Thomas of York's appointment as Regent of Divinity at Oxford and the dispute concerning the appointment.

[3] *Cfr.* Sbaralea, *Supplementum*, p. 633; Wadding, *Scriptores*, p. 207. Adam Marsh, *Epist.* ccv. p. 365, speaks of his character and learning in high terms of praise. Roger Bacon, who regarded him, as he did all the schoolmen, with scorn, yet admits that with the schoolmen themselves he was held in great repute: "*Famossimus apud stultam multitudinem, sed apud sapientes fuit insanus*," etc. He entered the Order about 1235. It is disputed whether Richard of Cornwall is the same person as Richard Rufus, mentioned in Eccleston, chap. iii. Cfr. *Anal. Franc.* iii. p. 247; Pits, *De illust. Scriptoribus*, p. 898, No. 92.

he was held to be a great and admirable philosopher.

There was a certain eminent Reader who studied with me at Oxford, and he was accustomed as a student during the Master's lectures or disputation to give his attention to matters other than the lecture, even compiling original notes of his own. And behold! when he himself was appointed Reader his own students were so inattentive that he declared he would as willingly each day close his book and go away as stay and give his lecture. Full of remorse, he said: "By a just judgment of God none of these will now listen to me, who would never listen to any teacher." Moreover, he was too frequently in the company of secular friends, and for this reason was now less seldom found with the brethren than formerly. Wherefore he was made an example to the other brethren to show how words of wisdom can be learned only in silence and quiet, since the law of God, as the Saint tells us, can be pondered upon only by the mind at rest. Afterwards, however, he reformed and gave himself to quiet study, and made such remarkable progress that the Bishop of Lincoln would declare that he could hardly believe this Reader's lectures to be his own. So the fame of his good life increased until he was called by the Minister-

Anecdote.

General to the parts of Lombardy, and in the very court of the Pope was held to be a great man. At length, being in the agony of death, he was visited by the Mother of God, to whom he had ever been devoted, and the evil spirits being put to flight, he passed happily into the purgatorial pains, as he himself afterwards revealed to a certain companion of his. For he told him how he was in purgatory and suffered grievously in his feet, because he had too frequently gone to visit a certain devout matron in order to comfort her, when he ought to have been busy with lectures and other more urgent duties, and he besought his companion to have Masses said for his soul. Therefore for the space of two years his companion frequently had Masses said for him, offering also many other suffrages.

These who follow were Readers at Cambridge and not at Oxford—Brother Vincent of Coventry, Brother John of Weston, Brother William of Poictiers, and Brother Humfrid. This Brother Humfrid himself told me how he was once sick at Cambridge and heard a voice saying, "Mayest thou feel like a stone," and he lay still as though he were a stone. Then came two devils unto him who sat at his left hand, and a good angel who sat at his right; and the devils began to vex him, uttering calumnies, but

Readers at Cambridge.

the good angel for a long time was silent. At last the devils said: "When the brethren sit gossiping over their cups at the hour of compline we are busy with them; when they go hence we, too, go hence and find work elsewhere." Then spoke the good angel: "Behold, how great is the malice of the evil ones; they wish to weary thee to death that thou mightest no more praise thy Creator's Name." Thus comforted, he began from that moment to perspire and was restored to health.

CHAPTER XI

OF THE APPOINTMENT OF CONFESSORS

Now there were amongst the brethren many who though they were neither Preachers nor Readers, yet by the gracious favour of the Bishops and in obedience to the Minister-Provincial and by their appointment, heard the confessions of both religious and seculars in various places. Amongst these the most notable was a Friar of London, Brother Solomon, who was the favourite confessor both amongst citizens and courtiers. When he was Guardian of London after his sickness, of which we have already told,[1] the Lord Roger of holy memory, Bishop of London,[2] demanded of him canonical obedience. But Brother Solomon, after amicably withstanding the Bishop—for they had long been friends—besought him to delay the matter for a while. Now this Bishop held the Order in such reverence

Brother Solomon.

[1] See chapter iii.

[2] He was Bishop of London *an.* 1229-1241 (Eubel, *Hier. Cath.* p. 324).

that he would rise whenever a brother saluted him. But Brother Agnellus on this occasion sent at once to the Roman Court and obtained for the brethren the decree which is styled "Nimis iniqua."[1]

Another Confessor was Brother Maurice of Derham of happy memory. He once found a boy who had for some time been wasting under some desperate disease, and, having heard his confession, he directed him to say the "Hail, Mary!" thrice each day for a certain number of days, to beseech the Blessed Virgin to restore him to health so that he might become a Friar Minor. The boy, having said these prayers to the end, he was afterwards cured. When, therefore, he was about sixteen years of age, he bound himself to live like a Friar Minor until he should attain the age when he might lawfully enter in amongst the brethren, and having attained that age, he was without delay received into the Order under Brother Agnellus.

Brother Maurice of Derham.

At Gloucester was Brother Vincent of Worcester, Father of the whole Province. A man

[1] The Bull *nimis iniqua* was published 21st August 1231 (Sbaralea, *Bull. Franc.* p. 74); on 21st February 1241 Gregory IX. issued the decree *Inducimur piæ conversationis*, forbidding prelates to exact manual obedience from the Friars Minor. *Cfr.* Sbaralea, *Bullarium*, i. p. 290.

of great abstinence and personal austerity, he was yet of such a sweet and genial disposition towards those who were under him that he was loved by all as though he were an angel. Wherefore because of the gravity of his manners and his exceeding prudence, he was afterwards appointed to preach, and was chosen Confessor to Roger, Bishop of Coventry.

Brother Vincent of Worcester.

At Lynn there was a man of remarkable sanctity, Brother Godfrey of Salisbury, who because of the austerity of his life was, if one might say so, a second Francis, and because of his virtue, sweetness, and simplicity, a second Anthony. When he was hearing confessions such was his gentleness and the pity he felt towards his penitents, that if these did not show befitting signs of sorrow, he would weep and groan until they, too, began to weep, as happened to a nobleman, Sir Alexander de Bissingbourne. He had confessed his sins as though he were telling a story, but Brother Godfrey wept so bitterly that he compelled the nobleman to weep too; then by the brother's salutary advice, and assisted by his merits, Sir Alexander formed the purpose of entering the Order, in which purpose he died most holily. After his death he appeared to his friend Brother

Brother Godfrey of Salisbury.

John of Stamford, and when Brother John asked how he was, he replied: "My soul is a creature which has placed itself in the hands of its Creator; and he is happy who does this with his whole heart." He also instructed Brother John concerning the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, and so sublime and subtle were his words as to surpass the power of mortal man.

Brother Eustace de Merc.

At Oxford there was a Confessor, Brother Eustace de Merc [1] of happy memory, who afterwards was Guardian there and at length Custos of York. He used to tell how St Lanfranc wished to enter religion when he was already a most renowned theologian, and how he put on a habit of a monk and went to various abbeys to try the monastic state. And he came and knocked with his water-bottle at the door of the choir, but when the monks looked towards the door and began to laugh, he said to himself, "God is not here." At last he came to Bec Herluin, and there not one of the monks paid any attention to his knocking; so here he entered as a lay brother. But when Pope Nicholas convened the Council against Berengarius, Lanfranc obtained leave to accompany his Abbot, and there at the Council, when all others were silenced by the

Story of Lanfranc.

[1] See chapter vii.

arguments of the heretic, he besought that he might be allowed to speak, and so clearly did he set forth his arguments that Berengarius exclaimed, "Either you are Lanfranc or the devil!" And so he became known to the Council.

CHAPTER XII

OF THE MINISTERS-GENERAL

Brother Elias.

THE first Minister-General of the Order after the blessed Francis was Brother Elias, who had been a Writer at Bologna. To him succeeded Brother John Parenti of Florence,[1]

[1] John Parenti was elected Minister-General at the General Chapter of Assisi in 1227. Strictly speaking he was the first Minister-General after St Francis, as Elias was only Vicar-General from the death of St Francis till this chapter. The chronicles of the Order bear witness to the holiness of Brother John Parenti (cf. *Chron. xxiv. Gen.*—*Anal. Franc.* iii. pp. 210-215; Barthol. de Pisa, *De Conformit.*—*Anal. Franc.* iv. p. 262). Père Edouard d'Alençon in the introduction to his edition *Sacrum Commercium S. Francisci cum Domina Paupertate*, is inclined to attribute this delightful allegory to John Parenti. Some confusion exists in the chronicles concerning the date of John Parenti's election and term of office: but it seems probable that he was elected in 1227 and continued in office until 1233, although an attempt was made by the partisans of Elias to depose him at the Chapter of 1230 (cf. *Anal. Franc.* iii. p. 215, note 7). At this chapter Haymo of Faversham "represented France" (Eccleston, *ut infra*, p. 82); and according to Wadding, Adam Marsh was also present (*Annales*, ad an. 1230). John Parenti died in Corsica about 1240, according to the *Album Generale omnium FF. MM. Conventualium.*

Minister of Spain, a man of wisdom and piety and very austere; but he being dismissed from office by the partisans of Brother Elias, this Brother Elias was himself again elected Minister-General. For at the chapter during which the translation of the body of St Francis took place, the partisans of Brother Elias whom he had permitted to come to the chapter, determined to bring about his election, and Elias had allowed all to come to the chapter who would elect him, in spite of the will of the Ministers-Provinical. Wherefore taking Brother Elias in their arms, they carried him from his cell to the door of the chapter-room, and, breaking down the door, would have put him in the place of the Minister-General, which, when he saw, Brother John the General stripped himself of his habit before the whole chapter. At length the disturbers, being put to shame, ceased their disturbance; but they would listen neither to St Anthony nor to any Minister-Provincial. The people outside believed the disturbance to have arisen because the body of St Francis had been translated three days before the chapter met. But five novices who had been soldiers and were present at the chapter, when they saw what was taking place, wept. They said, nevertheless, that the disturbance would

Brother John Parenti, A.D. 1227.

Conspiracy of Brother Elias, A.D. 1230.

bring good to the Order, since no Order could tolerate such disorderliness. And so it came to pass; for the disturbers were separated and sent to do penance in various provinces. But Brother Elias went and dwelt in a small hermitage and let his hair and beard grow, and by this simulation of holiness regained the goodwill of the Order and of the brethren.

An embassy, therefore, was sent by the chapter to Pope Gregory to obtain an explanation of the Rule.[1] Besides the Minister-General there were Saint Anthony, Brother Gerard Rusinoll (penitentiary of the Pope), Brother Haymo (afterwards Minister-General), Brother Leo (afterwards Archbishop of Milan),[2] Brother Gerard of Modena, and Brother Peter of Brescia. These also informed the Pope of the scandal Brother Elias had caused because the Minister-General had revoked his decree permitting any of the brethren who wished to come to the chapter, and how, being angered at

[1] The *Chron. xxiv. Gen.* throws light on the origin of this appeal: "Tempore istius Generalis, ut dicit frater Bonaventura de Balneoregio in quodam sermone, insurrexit inter fractres multiplex dubitatio de his quae in regula continentur. *Generalis vero portabat regulam in manibus asserens, ipsam claram et observabilem et ab omnibus ad litteram observandam*" (*Anal. Franc.* iii. p. 213). The result of the appeal was the famous Bull *Quo elongati* of 28th September 1230.

[2] *An.* 1244-1263 (Eubel, *Hier. Cath.* i. p. 248).

this, he caused the body of St Francis to be translated before all the brethren were assembled. The Pope, when he heard of these things, was greatly moved and showed great indignation against him until he heard of the singular life Brother Elias was leading in his hermitage. Wherefore when, at the Chapter of Rieti, Brother John Parenti was dismissed, the Pope permitted Brother Elias to be again appointed Minister-General chiefly because of his intimacy with Saint Francis.[1]

Brother Elias elected, A.D. 1233.

Afterwards when by reason of his worldliness and cruelty Brother Elias again threw the whole

[1] Jordan de Giano (*Anal. Franc.* i. p. 18) says Elias was elected at *Rome* in 1232. The *Album Generale* says the chapter was held probably at Assisi. Sbaralea, quoting Wadding as his authority, says at Soria in Spain: so also says the "*Catalogus Gen. Ministrorum*" (ed. Hilarinus de Lucerna, p. 94). As to the date, Gregory IX. addressed a letter *Per mare magnum*, on 6th July 1233, to Brother Elias and the Ministers-Provincial assembled in chapter (*cfr.* Sbaralea, *Bullarium*, i. p. 113), so that 1233 may be taken as the correct date. Elias was deposed at the Chapter of 1239; was excommunicated first in 1240 and again in 1244; and died at Cortona in 1253, after being reconciled to the Church on his deathbed. Much has been written concerning Elias, mostly in his disfavour. That he was a genius, there can be little doubt; that his policy was a perversion of St Francis' ideal there can be no doubt: yet I do not think the last word has been said about him. The study of documents may yet throw a clearer light upon his acts and motives.

Order into a turmoil, Brother Haymo at Paris moved an appeal against him; and notwithstanding the opposition of Brother Elias, many of the Ministers-Provincial and upright brethren of the Cismontane Provinces met in General Chapter, Brother Arnulph, penitentiary of the Lord Pope,[1] Gregory IX., obtaining the consent of the Roman Court. Wherefore after long consultations, certain brethren were elected out of the whole Order, who were to take measures for the reformation of the Order: which, being done, an account thereof was rendered in General Chapter before the Pope, and at this chapter seven Cardinals were present.

The Friars appeal against Brother Elias, A.D. 1239.

Now when the Pope had preached—and his sermon was upon the golden statue that Nabuchodonosor saw in his dream, and his text was: "Thou, O King, didst begin to think what should come to pass"[2]—then did Brother Elias begin to excuse himself, alleging that the brethren when they elected him Minister-General did say that they wished him to eat gold and ride a horse if such his weakness required whereas now they turned against him, and spoke scandal of him. And when Brother Haymo desired leave to reply, the Pope

[1] There are several letters from Bishop Grosseteste to Arnulph the Penitentiary, in Brewer's *Grosseteste, Epistolæ*.

[2] Daniel ii. 29 (Vulgate).

would not permit him, till the Lord Cardinal Robert de Sumercote[1] pleaded: "My Lord Pope, this old man is a good man, and it is well you should hear him, especially as he is sparing of his words."

Brother Haymo therefore rose up, timid and trembling, but Elias sat to all appearance fearless and undisturbed. Thereupon Brother Haymo began by briefly commending the words of Brother Elias as those of a revered father, but urged against him that although the brethren might have said they wished him to eat gold, yet they had not said they wished him to keep a treasury. Moreover, they might have wished him to ride a horse, but had never said they wished him to keep a palfrey or a charger. At this Brother Elias, unable to contain his rage, called out that Brother Haymo lied, and the partisans of Brother Elias began to insult Brother Haymo in like manner and to make a tumult. Then did others of the opposite party cry out against these. But the Pope, greatly moved, commanded silence, saying, "These are not the manners of Religious," and for a long while he sat silent and pondering till they were all filled with shame.

Meanwhile the Lord Cardinal, Reginald, Protector of the Order, openly admonished Brother

[1] Died 1241 (Matth. Westmon. *Flores Hist.* ad an. 1241).

Elias to put his resignation into the hands of the Pope, but Brother Elias publicly declared he would not. Thereupon the Pope, having commended the personal character of Brother Elias and spoken of his intimacy with St Francis, concluded by saying that he believed his ministry to be acceptable to the brethren, but that now, since it was shown to be no longer acceptable, his decree was that Brother Elias be dismissed. And at once he removed him from the office of Minister-General. Thereat did the brethren rejoice with an immense and unspeakable joy, such as they had never before seen, who merited to be present.

Brother Elias is deposed.

The Pope thereupon retired to one of the cells and called to him the Ministers-Provincial and the Custodes for the election, and before they gave their votes in writing he heard them orally. When, therefore, Brother Albert of Pisa, Minister of England, was canonically elected, Brother Arnulph, the Penitentiary, who more than anyone else had managed these affairs, announced the election and intoned the *Te Deum laudamus*.

Brother Albert of Pisa elected, A.D. 1239.

And because Brother Elias, as was said, had never made profession of the Rule confirmed by the Pope,[1] and hence held himself at liberty to

[1] *I.e.* the Rule confirmed by Honorius III. in A.D. 1223.

receive money; therefore it was now ordained that he should make profession of this Rule, and not only he but the entire chapter and for the future the whole Order. And so it was done.

Then the Minister-General celebrated Mass, and afterwards said to the brethren who were not of the chapter: "You have now been present at the first Mass ever celebrated in this Order by a Minister-General. Go now with the blessing of Jesus Christ to your own places."

In this chapter Brother Haymo was appointed Minister of all England,[1] and Brother John of Keton, who had been Minister of Scotland, was appointed Minister of Ireland.

After this Brother Elias chose to live at Cortona, and, in opposition to the Minister-General's mandate, visited the houses of the Poor Ladies without leave, and thereby seems to have incurred the excommunication decreed by the Pope. Wherefore Brother Albert ordered Brother Elias to come to him and be absolved, or at least to meet him at some place midway between Rome and Cortona. But this Brother Elias declined to do, and word thereof came to the Pope. Now when he found that the Pope desired him to obey the Minister-General in the same manner as any

[1] The Province of Scotland being reunited to the English Province.

other brother must obey, Brother Elias would not brook the humiliation (for, indeed, he had never learned to obey), but betook himself to the territories of Emperor Frederic. Wherefore, not without just cause, he was publicly excommunicated by the Pope.

Apostasy of Brother Elias.

Brother Albert bore himself well in the General Ministry, and whilst he lived set himself to correct the abuses of his predecessor in the provinces beyond the Alps, where especially the brethren had departed from their first fervour. He died peacefully at Rome,[1] commending the English above all other nations in that they were zealous for the Order.

Brother Albert praises the English.

He was succeeded by Brother Haymo, an Englishman,[2] who carried on the good work begun

[1] Albert of Pisa was elected Minister-General on 15th May 1239. He died about the beginning of the following year, "*circa festum Nativitatis Domini*," according to *Chron. Gen. xxiv.*, but on 23rd January according to *Album Generale*, which also states that he died at Pisa and was buried there (cfr. *Anal. Franc.* iii. p. 233).

[2] Haymo was elected on 1st November 1240. Wadding dates his election in 1239, but this is an evident error, as Ralph of Maidstone did not resign his bishopric till 17th December 1239, and he was afterwards received into the Order at Oxford by Haymo, then Provincial of England (cfr. *Anal. Franc.* iii. p. 234, note 1). The date of his death is generally given as 1244, but it is more probable that he died in 1243, during the

by Brother Albert. Under him was held the first General Chapter of Definitors,[1] which was also the last, for on account of the insolence of these Definitors such a chapter was never again held in the Order. For they were determined that the Ministers-Provincial who were at the chapter with the Minister-General should by all manner of means be turned out of the place where the chapter was held,[2] and, in fact, this was done. Therefore at the next General Chapter because of the insolence of these Definitors, the statute was abolished which was made in the presence of the Pope on the occasion when Brother Elias was deposed, concerning that chapter of subjects, and the canonical election of Guardians and Custodes. For certain of the brethren

Succeeded by Brother Haymo, A. D. 1240.

Chapter of Definitors.

stay of Pope Innocent at Anagni—*i.e.* between 25th June and the middle of October (cf. *Anal. Franc.* iii. p. 246, note 1; Sabatier, *Opuscules*, 128). His epitaph ran:

"Hic jacet Anglorum decus et decor, Aymo Minorum
Vivendo frater nosque regendo pater,
Eximius lector, generalis in ordine rector."

Vide *Catalog. Gen. Minist.* l.c. p. 104.

Wadding, *Scriptores*, puts "*summum decus*" for "*decus et decor.*"

1 *I.e.* of delegates sent by the provinces.

2 Presumably in order that the Definitors might deliberate alone. This Chapter of Definitors was held at Bologna in 1243 (cf. *Anal. Franc.* iii. p. 247).

wished even to abolish the office of Custos, saying that such an office was superfluous.

Brother Haymo defends himself.

Once, too, when Brother Haymo was on this side of the Alps he was summoned to Rome in the middle of winter by the Cardinal-Protector of the Order and other Cardinals, to answer certain accusations made against him, and he answered so well that he gained much favour.

In his time a mandate went forth from the General Chapter that brethren should be elected in each province, who should write down any doubts the brethren might have concerning the Rule and send them to the Minister-General.[1] So the brethren in England elected Brother Adam Marsh, Brother Peter, Custos of Oxford, Brother Henry of Burford, and certain others. Now on the very night of the election St Francis appeared to Brother John Bannister and showed him a very deep well. And Brother John said: "Father, the brethren wish to explain the Rule; better is it that thou thyself shouldst explain it to us." But St Francis replied: "Go, my son, to the lay brothers, and they will explain thy Rule to thee."

Anecdote.

When therefore they had written down certain doubts, the said brethren sent them to the

[1] Cfr. *Chron. xxiv. Gen.*—*Anal. Franc.* iii. p. 247.

Minister-General in a small box without a seal, and at the same time begged him by the overflowing blood of Jesus Christ to leave the Rule as it was written by St Francis under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Now this petition greatly pleased the Protector of the Order and the brethren beyond the sea, and confirmed the witness borne by Brother Albert of Pisa to the zeal of the English. Brother Haymo died at Anagni, and when he was on his deathbed Pope Innocent IV. graciously came to visit him.

Zeal of the English for the Rule.

The next in succession was Brother Crescentius, Minister of Verona, a famous physician, whose zeal was inflamed by charity, moulded by learning, and maintained by a stout heart. For in his own province there were brethren so opposed to him that on the night of the chapter in which he was elected, after he had laid his complaint against them before the more zealous brethren, one of the brethren had a vision, in which he saw the Minister with shaven head and grey beard reaching to his girdle; and he heard a voice coming from heaven upon him, uttering these words: "This is Mardocheus." Now when Brother Ralph of Rheims heard of the vision he at once said: "Of a certainty he will this day be elected Minister-

Brother Crescentius of Jesi elected, A.D. 1244.

General." But when Brother Crescentius had faithfully and discreetly fulfilled his ministry for a time, he besought to be relieved, and was afterwards created bishop of the city of his birth.[1]

[1] Crescentius was born at Jesi in the March of Ancona; was elected Minister-General at the Chapter of Genoa, 1244. He was elected Bishop of Assisi in 1247 but his election was not confirmed by Innocent IV., who nominated his confessor, Brother Nicholas Calvi, to the see. In 1252, however, Crescentius was appointed Bishop of Jesi (*vide* Elie Berger, *Registres d'Innocent IV.*, tom. iii., 5661, where Innocent's letter appointing Crescentius is given; Eubel, *Hier. Cath.* i. p. 73. *Cf.* Sabatier, *Opuscules*, pp. 121-123). It is strange that none of the chroniclers of the Order, except Eccleston and Angelus Clarino, *Hist. vii. Trib.*, mention this appointment to the See of Jesi. Wadding, evidently following the *Chron. xxiv. Gen.*, implies that Crescentius, after his election to the See of Assisi was quashed, lived quietly in his convent till his death.

Eccleston, however, seems in error in styling him Minister of *Verona* at the time of his election to the generalate: he was Minister of the Marches. Vide *Chron. xxiv. Gen.*—*Anal. Franc.* iii. p. 261, etc.; Eubel, *Provinciale*, p. 67. Both as Minister of the Marches, and as General, he had much trouble with the *Spirituals* — *i.e.* the brethren who held to the primitive simplicity of the Order in opposition to later developments. There is a certain pathos in Brother Giles' salutation to John of Parma, when he displaced Crescentius as General: "*Bene venisti Pater sed tarde*" (Wadding, *ad an.* 1247).

Yet we owe to Crescentius the Second Legend of Celano and probably the Legend of the Three Companions and part at least

He was succeeded by Brother John of Parma, a reader who had lectured on the Sentences in the University of Paris. He was the chief upholder of primitive observance in the Order. He came to England during the time of Brother William of Nottingham, and held a provincial Chapter at Oxford, when he brought back to fraternal unity the brethren who were attempting to introduce certain novel opinions. Afterwards he spread throughout all the provinces the report of the obedience and uprightness of the English brethren.[1] At the University of Paris he personally intervened to establish peace amongst the brethren and prevailed upon them to withdraw their appeal, setting before them the simplicity of our life. He ordained that the General Chapter should be held alternately on either side of the Alps. At length, feeling himself unable any longer to bear

Brother John of Parma, A.D. 1247.

of the *Speculum Perfectionis*—for he ordered the companions of St Francis to write down their recollections of the Saint, and to these writings we certainly owe the Second Celano and probably the other two legends. To Crescentius has been attributed the authorship of the dialogue: *De vitis sanctorum Frat. Min.* (*Anal. Franc.* iii. p. 263), but P. Lemmens shows that it was written "at the command of Brother Crescentius the Minister-General" (vide *Dialogus de vitis*, etc., edit. Lemmens, Introd. xi.).

[1] *Vide infra*, p. 123.

the burden of the General Ministry, he obtained release from the Lord Pope Alexander IV.[1]

Sayings of Brother John of Parma.

This same father once said that the edifice of the Order was chiefly constructed of two walls, to wit, holy conduct and learning; and that the brethren had raised the wall of learning till it reached beyond the heavens and heavenly things, so far indeed as to question the very existence of

[1] John of Parma was elected at the Chapter of Lyons in 1247, and the same year made the visitation of the English Province. He held the famous Chapter of Metz in 1253 or 1254. At this chapter the English Friars were amongst those who brought about the decision not to accept the bull of Innocent IV. allowing the Friars Minor to receive money through procurators (*vide* Eccleston, viii. p. 57). In 1254 also John of Parma went to Paris on account of the difficulties which had arisen between the university and the new orders of friars. Eccleston informs us how his influence made for peace (*vide* p. 91). He resigned the generalship in 1257, and, at his own suggestion, St Bonaventure was elected in his stead. After this he lived in retirement in the hermitage of Greccio for over thirty years, when he was sent by the Pope on a mission to Greece, but he died on the way thither at Camerino in the Marches, in March, 1289 (cf. *Anal. Franc.* iii. p. 270, etc.; Wadding, *ad an.* 1247).

By the *Spirituals* he was regarded as a Minister after the heart of St Francis. See the curious story of a vision Brother James of La Massa had concerning him in *Chron. xxiv. Gen.* (*Anal. Fran.* iii. pp. 283-284); in *Hist. vii. Trib.* (*Archiv.* ii. p. 280), and in Fioretti, xlvii.

God,[1] whereas the wall of holy conduct they left so low that it was considered great praise to say of a brother, "He is a safe man." Wherefore they seemed to build not rightly.

Moreover, he would have the brethren defend themselves against the encroachments of prelates and princes by the reverence given to their Order and by their public merits rather than by apostolic privileges, that so they might be in truth Friars Minor in their humility and meekness.

Now he once, in full General Chapter at Genoa, commanded Brother Boniface, who had been a companion of St Francis, to speak to the brethren concerning the truth of the Stigmata, since many of the brethren throughout the world had doubts concerning them. And Brother Boniface replied, weeping, "These sinful eyes of mine have seen them; these sinful hands of mine have pressed them."[2]

Witnesses to the Stigmata of St Francis.

Brother Leo, companion of St Francis, told Brother Peter, the Minister of England, that the apparition of the Seraphim took place whilst St

1 *Vide infra*, App. III. p. 154.

2 I have taken the liberty to transpose this incident and the following. In the text they follow the subsequent saying of Brother Haymo. It is difficult, however, to know in what order exactly the incidents which follow were related in the original text. They all seem to be later additions.

Francis was in ecstasy, and that the evidence was greater even than that written in the Saint's life. Moreover many things, said Brother Leo, had been revealed to St Francis of which he had never spoken to any living man; but this the Saint did tell Brother Ruffino, his companion, that when he saw the angel from afar he was exceedingly terrified, and that the angel had treated him hardly. And the angel said that the Order should endure until the end of the world, that no man of evil purpose should be able to continue therein, that no man who should bear ill-will towards the Order should live long, and that no man who truly loved the Order should have an evil end.[1] And St Francis commanded Brother Ruffino to wash the stone upon which the angel stood and anoint it with oil, which Brother Ruffino did.[2] These things were written down by Brother Warin of Sedenfeld from the lips of Brother Leo.

Now this saying had Brother Haymo concerning brethren who would not return to their convent after they had been sick until they were in robust

[1] *Cfr.* Fioretti, *Second Consid. on the Stigmata*, where however it is Brother Leo to whom St Francis speaks of this revelation [cfr. *Speculum Perf.* (ed. Sabatier), lxxix.].

[2] The *Chron. xxiv. Gen.*—*Anal. Franc.* iii. p. 67, recites this incident, but attributes it to Brother Leo, not to Brother Ruffino.

health lest, perhaps, they should not again be given a holiday. He said they were like unto a boy who was unwilling to be taught his letters; who, when he had said A, refused to say B, because although he knew how to say B as well as A, if he said B his master would tell him to say C and so forth.

Sayings of Brother Haymo.

Brother Haymo used also to say that when he was in the world he was so delicate that he could not live without many changes of clothing and shoes, but that afterwards he was stronger without them. When he was about to return from the General Chapter at which he was elected Minister-Provincial, being anxious concerning his bodily weakness, he thought that once he had crossed the Alps he would have nothing to fear. Yet it happened that where he was most in fear he became stronger and in France grew weaker.

Brother Ralph of Rheims, an Englishman, after many labours came to England, and having spent much time in contemplation at Salisbury, died in peace. He told how St Francis was once walking along a road in a cold wind, and grew faint-hearted; but arousing himself, he went up into a mountain and took off his garments, and then turned again towards the wind, saying that it would be well now to be clothed even in one tunic.

Brother Ralph of Rheims relates a story about St Francis.

Sayings of Brother Albert of Pisa.

Brother Albert was wont to say that there were three things which glorified the Order, to wit, bare feet, coarse garments, and contempt of money.

And of Brother Walter of Reigate.

Brother Walter of Reigate [1] told how it was revealed to a certain brother in the Province of St Francis,[2] that the devils every year held a chapter for the injury of the Order, and that they came to the chapter by three roads, namely, familiarity with women, the admission into the Order of unworthy persons, and the handling of money.

[1] He was Papal Nuncio in England in 1261. *Vide* Matth. Westmon. *Flores Hist.* ad an. 1261.

[2] Umbria.

CHAPTER XIII

OF THE MINISTERS-PROVINCIAL

THE first of the Ministers-Provincial, as has been before said, was Brother Agnellus of Pisa, a man highly endowed with natural prudence, and conspicuous for virtue, observance of Rule, and honesty of life.[1] Having with success carried the appeal concerning the English Bishops[2] to the Roman Court, whither he had proceeded accompanied by Brother Peter of Tewkesbury (at that time Guardian of London) and some Friars Preachers, he fell sick at Oxford of dysentery, brought on, it was said, by the cold and the exertions which he had to endure when he went to make peace between the King and the Earl Marshal on the borders of Wales,[3] and on his

Brother Agnellus.

His labours.

1 Agnellus was received into the Order, according to Wadding, by St Francis in 1211, at the same time as Albert of Pisa (*Annales*, ad an. 1220).

2 See chap. xi.

3 Roger of Wendover gives a detailed account of Brother Agnellus' interview with Richard the Earl Marshal, and of his endeavour to prevent civil war (*Chronicle*, A.D. 1233).

frequent journeyings through the province. Afterwards, when by the use of medicinal remedies he was cured of the dysentery, he was seized with a colic and such pain in the side that he could hardly refrain from crying aloud. During the three days which preceded his death he prayed in a loud voice almost without intermission, "Sweet Jesus, come!" Now when he had received the Sacraments according to the forms of the Church, the brethren besought him to give directions concerning his successor, and he advised that Brother Hugh of Wells be sent to Brother Elias with a petition from all the brethren that one of these three be appointed Minister, to wit, Brother Albert of Pisa, Brother Haymo, or Brother Ralph of Rheims. Moreover, in so far as it was in his power to do so, he named Brother Peter of Tewkesbury his Vicar; then he begged of each brother separately that he would pray for him, and the Commendation being finished, in which he himself joined with the community, he peacefully expired.

His death, A.D. 1235 (?).

Now it seemed to Brother Walter of Madeley that a dead body lay in the choir, which had recently been taken down from the cross, and it was marked with five bleeding wounds after the manner of Jesus Christ crucified. He believed therefore that it was the

Anecdotes concerning him.

sweet Jesus Himself, but when he came close he saw that it was Brother Agnellus.

Meet is it to record how the venerable Master Serle, Dean of Oxford, advised Brother Agnellus seldom to eat outside the convent. Now a certain Guardian of a convent on the same day that he had been preaching to the people, was joking after dinner with a certain monk in the presence of a secular, saying that he wondered they were allowed to eat even with the brethren. The secular thereupon remarked quietly to a brother, who was his secretary, that such words were not becoming in one who was a Superior and a Preacher. The same Guardian afterwards told me that he would rather have had his ribs pierced with a lance than have given such scandal. For the brethren were most zealous for the good name of the Order, especially Brother Agnellus, who would not spare even the King's secretary, but removed him from the Court and forbade him either to give or receive presents.

Brother Agnellus was for long Minister of England whilst still remaining in deacons' orders, and he would not consent to be promoted to the priesthood until the Provincial Chapter petitioned the General Chapter to command that he be promoted. Such was his devotion at the divine service, that not only at the

Piety of Brother Agnellus.

time of Mass but even when saying the divine office in choir or on a journey, he might be seen to shed tears continuously, yet so that neither by any noise nor by groans nor by any contortion of the face could it be known that he wept. He always said the office standing, and once sharply reproved a brother who, after a blood-letting, sat down to say his hours. When he felt that he was about to die, he said to Brother Peter of Tewkesbury, "Thou knowest my whole life." And when Brother Peter replied that he had never made to him a general confession, Brother Agnellus struck his head and began to weep aloud, and at once with a wonderful sorrow made a confession to him of his whole life. Then calling together the brethren, he absolved them [1]; and when, at his command, they began the Commendation, he closed his eyes with his own hand and folded his hands across his breast in the form of a cross.

Translation of his body.

After many years the brethren had of necessity to remove his body because they were about to pull down the chapel in the choir of which his body was buried before the altar, and they found both the leaden coffin in which he lay and the grave itself filled with the purest oil, but the body itself, and the garments in which

[1] *I.e.* in so far as they had transgressed the Rule of the Order or the Statutes.

it was clothed, were incorrupt and gave forth a most sweet perfume.

But when Brother Elias heard from the messenger that Brother Agnellus was dead, he immediately caused the Provincial seal to be broken, which bore the figure of a lamb with a cross, for he was angry that the brethren of England should ask by name for a Provincial Minister. Wherefore he refused to send them any Minister till nearly a year had gone by. At length, recalling one whom he had already despatched hither, he commanded Brother Albert of Pisa to go to England and minister to the brethren. Brother Albert had been already Minister of Hungary, Germany, Bologna, and of the Marches of Ancona, of the Marches of Treviso, and Tuscany. He arrived in England, therefore, on the festival of Saint Lucy,[1] and on the following festival of the Purification[2] held a Provincial Chapter at Oxford. And he preached from the text: "Look unto the rock whence you are hewn and to the hole of the pit from which you are dug out."[3]

Anger of Brother Elias against English Friars.

Brother Albert of Pisa, A.D. 1236.

Now as he did unto the brethren in all things according to his own will, he, in many ways, tried

[1] 13th December 1236.
[2] 2nd February 1237.
[3] Isaias li. 1.

the humility and the meekness, the simplicity and the zeal, the charity and the patience of the brethren in England. But although he had publicly declared in the chapter that the brethren would always find in him such a master as he then showed himself, nevertheless he henceforth from day to day wisely seasoned, more than is wont, every sacrifice with the salt of the Gospel; and so afterwards he so greatly approved of the brethren in England that he gave his heart to them entirely and bound them to him in an attachment beyond words. For, indeed, in all his endeavours to bring about greater perfection he found them at one with himself, and ready if need be, for the sake of the reform of the Order to go with him to prison or into exile.

His severity.

He comes to appreciate the English Friars.

Now he ordained that in the house for guests silence should always be kept at table, except when the Friars Preachers or the brethren of other provinces were present. Also, that the brethren should wear old tunics over their new ones, both to keep the brethren in their lowliness and that the new tunics might last longer. He pulled down the stone cloister at Southampton, though with much trouble because of the opposition of the townspeople. With great fervour of spirit he returned

His zeal for regular observance.

to the monks of Reading the writing or agreement whereby they bound themselves not to expel the brethren at their own will.[1] He even offered, should the monks desire it, himself to remove the brethren. And since he could not pull down the chapel of the place, for that the King had built it, he earnestly prayed that Heaven would destroy it. He placed brethren at Chester[2] and Winchester[3] in spite of great difficulties.

He received the decree from the Lord Pope Gregory that the Friars Preachers should lay no person under an obligation whereby their freedom to enter any other Order would be taken away, and that the brethren should receive no novice to profession before the year of probation was ended. For they had been accustomed to profess novices, if

Friction with the Friars Preachers.

[1] Such an agreement being opposed to the principle of absolute poverty or non-ownership (*vide* Appendix).

[2] *Vide* Grosseteste's letter to the Bishop of Coventry, Alexander Stavensby, expostulating with him for his opposition to the settlement of the Friars at Chester. Stavensby had spoken against the coming of the Friars at a public meeting at Chester (*Epistola*, xxxiv., ed. Brewer).

[3] *Patent Rolls Hen. III.*, an. 1237, m. 8, contain a royal mandate to Roger de Lairnton, citizen of Winchester, requesting him "to give seisin to Friars Minor dwelling at Winchester . . . and King will satisfy him on their behalf." Also in *Charter Rolls Hen. III.*, an. 1258, m. 1, there is a grant to the Friars of Winchester for the enlargement of their dwelling.

they wished it, on the very day they entered the Order, as happened with Brother Robert Bacon of happy memory.

Now the Friars Preachers were much disturbed, and after a time besought the Lord Pope Innocent IV. that no Friar Minor should receive to the habit any person whom they had bound to enter their Order, and that any Friar Minor doing this should be *de facto* excommunicated. And they were willing themselves to be held by the same law concerning those whom we should bind. But they bound people in so many ways and published their privilege so widely that they left hardly anybody free. But this trouble did not last long. For Brother William of Nottingham of happy memory and Brother Peter of Tewkesbury showed the Pope what his predecessor had decreed, and he, declaring that he had been deceived, revoked his concession, though after a tiresome delay.

Brother Albert used to say that we ought to have much affection for the Friars Preachers, because in many ways they profited our Order and occasionally taught us what dangers to guard against. At divine office he was always most devout, and warded off distractions by keeping his eyes closed.

Brother Albert's piety.

In his intercourse with the brethren he was always so cheerful and merry that he won

the affection of all. Thus when at times there was a blood-letting at the convent,[1] he would propound to the brethren around him a parable such as this which was especially told for the sake of a novice who was present. This novice was exceedingly clever in his own eyes, and would presumptuously enter into affairs which did not concern him. "A certain rustic," said Brother Albert, "hearing what exceeding peace there was in Paradise and how great were the delights, set out to find it, hoping by some means to be let in. Coming to the gate he found there St Peter, and sought to be admitted. But St Peter asked him whether he would be able and willing to observe the laws of Paradise. To whom the rustic replied that he would if only the Saint would deign to teach him what they were. St Peter thereupon told him that the only law was that he must observe silence. And when the rustic had readily consented to this he was taken in. Now as he wandered through Paradise he saw a ploughman with two oxen, one fat, the other lean; and the fat ox he let go as he would, but the lean ox he was incessantly beating. So up ran the rustic and began to argue with the ploughman. Just then

His affability.

Anecdotes.

[1] At certain periods of the year it was a custom in the Middle Ages to undergo a blood-letting for medicinal purposes.

St Peter came along and was about to expel him. However, for this once he spared him, but gave him warning to beware in future. But immediately afterwards the rustic saw a man carrying a long piece of wood, who wanted to enter a house, but every time he attempted to enter he turned the wood crossways against the door. Running up, the rustic began to argue with him that he should turn one of the ends inwards. And again St Peter came along at that very moment, and would by all manner of means have expelled him. Nevertheless he spared him once more. Again the rustic set off, and he saw a man cutting down trees in a wood, and all the while he was leaving the old trunks and hollow oaks and hewing down and cutting up the trees which were straight and green and most beautiful. So, running up, the rustic began to upbraid him. At once St Peter came along, and this time put him out of Paradise." For Brother Albert would have subjects everywhere hold their superiors in reverence, saying, "Far be it from us that familiarity should breed contempt."

In the aforesaid conversation with the brethren Brother Albert spoke also this parable against the presumption of young men, saying: "A certain young bull wandered day by day through the meadows and cornfields, wherever he willed. One day, about the first or the third hour, he turned

aside to where they were ploughing, and he saw that the elder oxen went along slowly and ploughed a little, and he blamed them, saying that he could do as much at one jump. They, therefore, besought him to help them. Now when he was put under the yoke he ran with exceeding swiftness until he came to the middle of the track, and then he began to get tired and to breathe hard; and looking round, he exclaimed, 'What! is not the whole furrow ploughed?' And the old oxen, deriding him, replied, 'Not yet.' But the bull declared he could go no farther. Then said the old oxen, 'For this do we go more quietly, because it behoves us to work at all times and not merely for a little while.'"

His prudence.

Brother Albert compelled Brother Eustace de Merc to eat fish, contrary to his custom, saying that the Order had lost many good men through their indiscretion. And he related how when he himself was dwelling with St Francis in a certain hospital the Saint obliged him to eat twice the amount of food he had been used to eat.

Again the liberality of his mind was shown when he severely reproved a certain Guardian and also a Preacher because they had not provided the convent more abundantly with food after the labours of a certain festival. Such was his largeness of heart and his compassion that he gave an

obedience to a brother who was in weak health to go to his native parts, and to travel from place to place throughout the whole custody if he so willed. And wherever the brethren were put to straits to provide the sick brother's maintenance he undertook to refund whatever they expended upon him. Wherefore having thus nobly governed the English Province for two years and a half, he went with many others, elected for that purpose, to the chapter which was held against Brother Elias: and after being elected Minister-General, he died happily at Rome amongst the English brethren.

Brother Haymo, A.D. 1239.

To him succeeded Brother Haymo, who being a man most kind and gentle, ever strove to maintain the brethren in all charity and peace. He gave the habit to the Lord Bishop of Hereford, Ralph of Maidstone.[1]

He receives Bishop Ralph of Maidstone into the Order.

Now this was in accordance with a vision concerning Brother Haymo, which the Bishop had whilst he was yet Archdeacon of Chester; for it seemed to him that he was sitting and arranging the clergy in

[1] See Appendix III. Ralph of Maidstone resigned his see on 17th December 1239 (Eubel, *Hier. Cath.* i. p. 285). *Cfr.* Sbaralea, *Supplementum*, p. 642, where however Ralph of Maidstone and Ralph, Bishop of Hereford, are erroneously spoken of as distinct persons. *Cfr.* Barth. de Pisa, *De Conformit.* Fruct. viii. in *Anal. Franc.* iv. pp. 330 and 339.

their places at a synod, when a boy came and threw water in his face, whereat he was immediately changed into a sickly and wretched youth; and he came to the bed on which Brother Haymo lay and besought that he might lie there too which he did. Accordingly he had a happy end in the Order. And so Brother Haymo ministered to the brethren for one year, and was then elected Minister-General.

He was succeeded by his Vicar, Brother William of Nottingham, who was unanimously elected and confirmed by those to whom the matter was entrusted.[1]

Brother William of Nottingham, A.D. 1240.

Now Brother William was altogether without experience of the lesser offices, such as those of Guardian or Custos; nevertheless so strenuous was his government that throughout all the provinces there went the report of his zeal and good management.

Incidents during his government.

1 There were two Provincials of England named William of Nottingham, the first, of whom Eccleston makes mention and who died in 1254; the second who died in 1336 and was buried in Leicester (vide *Registrum FF. Minor*, in Brewer, *Mon. Franc.* i. pp. 537-538). Wadding in *Scriptores Ord. Min.* hopelessly confuses the two names and speaks as though there were only one William of Nottingham: though in his brief account he mentions facts belonging to both. Both William, sen. and William, jun. were writers, but again there is confusion as to their proper works.

In those days it happened that two of the brethren who were very famous entered into the house of a certain franklin, who received them with honour and spread before them an abundant feast. And whilst they were at dinner the rector of the church came in and upbraided them for that they had not come to him. And he urged them to eat the flesh-meat which was set before them, but could not prevail over their frugality. Being angry, he cried out "Eat, eat! for the cold kills your bodies as gluttony kills our souls." And, rising up, he went away.

Story of Brother Albert.

The Minister, Brother Albert, used to say to his companion who was named Omnibonum,[1] such time as they came to the house of a spiritual friend, "Eat, eat; for now we can do so without fear." But as far as he could he avoided the houses of seculars.

Anecdotes.

An incident which Brother William was wont to relate was this. St Stephen, founder of the Order of Grandmont, put a box into a secret and safe place, and forbade any of his brethren to go thither whilst he lived. The brethren therefore were anxious to know what might be in the box, more especially since the Saint had wished them to hold the box in great veneration as he himself did. Wherefore when he died the brethren without

[1] "Omnebonum nomine" (Cottonian MS.).

delay broke open the box and there found nothing but only a piece of paper, on which this was written: "Brother Stephen, founder of the Order of Grandmont,[1] salutes his brethren and beseeches them to keep themselves away from the company of secular persons. For just as whilst you knew not what was in the box you held it in honour, so does it happen between seculars and yourselves."

Once when Brother Albert was at Oxford a young brother was preaching, and with much boldness denounced great houses and abundance of food, but Brother Albert reproved him inasmuch as he was vainglorious.[2]

A story told by Brother Adam Marsh is this. A certain boy delicately nurtured, fell sick, and his father besought him, saying, "My son, by the love you have for me your father, eat, for you are my most dear son." But the boy replied that he was not his son. In like manner he replied to his mother, when she in similar words tenderly urged him to eat. They therefore asked him

1 St Stephen could hardly have described himself as founder of the Order of Grandmont, since his monks did not acquire Grandmont till after his death. He himself lived and died at Muret (died A.D. 1124). The story, however, admirably describes the spirit of St Stephen and his love of solitude (see Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, 8th February).

2 St Francis in his Rule (chap. ii.) expressly forbade the Friars "to judge those who were dressed in fine, soft clothes," etc.

whose son he was, and he answered pertly and in anger, "I am the son of myself." Of such sort are they, said Brother Adam, who follow their own inclination and will.

When Brother Haymo was Minister of England he said that certain troubles came upon the Order because the brethren had caused altars and chapels to be set up in their places, in order that these places might not be again converted to secular uses.[1] Such was his zeal for poverty that he appeared in the Provincial Chapter in a habit of torn and coarsest texture and in the refectory sat with the last brethren upon the ground.

[1] Thereby securing these places to themselves, and so violating the spirit of absolute poverty, whereby they must be always as pilgrims and strangers wherever they are, with no manner of title or fixed possession (*vide supra*, chap. ii. p. 10, note).

CHAPTER XIV

OF THE PARTICULAR ADVANCEMENT OF CERTAIN BRETHREN

AND now, coming to the end of this narration, I deem it fitting to record how, whilst many of the brethren were yet living who had planted the vineyard of the Friars Minor in the English Province, so greatly did their branches increase both in this province and in others, that brethren were raised to various dignities and offices as well outside the Order as within, and this was so especially with those brethren who had most profoundly humbled themselves. Thus there was Brother Nicholas who, being a lay brother, was set to study, and afterwards became Confessor to Pope Innocent IV. and at length Bishop of Assisi.[1]

The English Province flourishes.

Brother Nicholas, a lay brother, becomes Bishop.

[1] Nicholas a Carbio (Calvi), a Friar Minor and Confessor of Innocent IV., was appointed Bishop of Assisi, in 1250 according to Eubel, *Hier. Cath.* i. p. 114: but Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, p. 669, dates his appointment *an.* 1247. Wadding and the *Collectanea Anglo-Minoritica* speak of him as an Englishman, but this error may have arisen from his having been in England

There was also a certain youth of tender years who received the habit as a lay brother, to whom the Glorious Virgin appeared; and she placed her finger upon his mouth in sign that he would be a Preacher and a Reader; and not only did he become Preacher and Reader, but also in the government of the Order held a high place.

But who would be able to tell as he ought of the singular advancement of those who, with wonderful fervour, entered the Order when the brethren first came to England? Though capable graduates in the universities and men of noble birth, they besought the caperone of probation, and afterwards many of them, as Preachers or Readers or as Superiors of the Order, did well and were found worthy of praise.

Holy death of Brother Eustace de Merc.

Of these Brother Eustace de Merc, who was for long Guardian of Oxford and afterwards Custos of York, even until his death observed his accustomed abstinence, watchings, and corporal austerities; but towards others he was always a man of angelic sweetness. When he was dying

as a Friar. The *Collectanea*, p. 75, mentions, though dubiously, a second Nicholas *Anglicus* as being also Bishop of Assisi: but this is evidently a confusion of persons. Nicholas a Carbio was the only Bishop of Assisi of the name of Nicholas during the thirteenth century (*cfr.* Sbaralea, *Supplementum*).

he frequently uttered these words as from his inmost soul: "By thy Son, O Virgin, by the Father and the Paraclete, I pray thee be present at my dying, and at my last going forth."

Brother Robert of Turnham goes with the Crusaders.

Brother Robert of Turnham,[1] at first Guardian of Lynn and afterwards for many years Custos of Cambridge, last of all with an unutterable zeal besought leave to go with the Crusaders to the Holy Land, where, in the discharge of a most difficult office, he won fame beyond measure both amongst the brethren and seculars; and in death gave signs of so noble a salvation that no believer could doubt that he was saved.

The piety of Brother Stephen de Belasis.

Brother Stephen Belasis, also Guardian of Lynn and afterwards Custos of Hereford, was of such sweetness and perfection that the zeal of his heart would manifest itself even in tears when he saw the austerity of religion relaxed. Wherefore having a great desire for quiet, he was freed from all

[1] *Cfr.* Sbaralea, *Supplementum*, p. 641, where however the words: *floruit sub Eduardo rege anno 1280*, are misleading. Adam Marsh mentions his going with the Crusade in *Epist.* clxxiii. p. 312. P. Gir. Golubovich (*Bibliotheca Bio-Bibliografica*, i. p. 280) asserts that Robert of Turnham went to the Holy Land in 1271-1272 together with Brother William of Hedley. But this is an error so far as Robert is concerned. He must have gone with the earlier Crusade of 1247-1248.

offices, and his "fruits were unto holiness and his end life everlasting."[1]

Brother William Cook.

Brother William Cook, a man naturally of great strength, because of his premature labours as Custos of London and other cares, nearly died of exhaustion. Wherefore he, too, at length resigned the active life for the contemplative, and, full of works, rested in peace.

Brother Augustine of Nottingham.

Brother Augustine, brother-german to Brother William of Nottingham of happy memory, after having entered the household of the Lord Pope Innocent IV., next went with the Patriarch of Antioch, a nephew of the Pope, into Syria, and at length was made Bishop of Laodicea.[2] He publicly related in the convent of London how he had been at Assisi on the festival of St Francis, and Pope Gregory was there. And when the Pope was about to preach, the brethren sang *Hunc Sanctus præelegerat*[3] whereat the Pope smiled. Now during his sermon the Pope told

Story of a festival at Assisi.

[1] Rom. vi. 22.

[2] Brother Augustine of Nottingham was Bishop of Laodicea *circa* 1310 (*cfr.* Eubel, *Hier. Cath.* i. p. 304). Albert, Patriarch of Antioch, was legate in Lombardy in 1235; he received plenary legatine authority in the province of Antioch and in the army of the Crusade, on 18th July 1243; and died in 1246 (*cfr.* Eubel, *Hier. Cath.* i. p. 93).

[3] "This man the Saint has especially chosen."

how two heresiarchs were converted at Venice, and were sent to him with letters from the Cardinals who were legates there; and in these letters it was written how these heretics one night saw our Lord Jesus Christ sitting as a Judge in the midst of His Apostles and of Religious of all Orders in the world, but they did not see there any Friars Minor, not even St Francis, whom one of the legates in a sermon had pronounced to be greater than St John the Evangelist, inasmuch as he had received the Stigmata. But the heretics saw in their vision the Lord Jesus Himself reclining on the breast of St John, and St John on the breast of our Lord. Wherefore they held as certain that this vision was shown to confirm them in an opinion they held, that the legate had blasphemed: and being grievously scandalised, they exclaimed against the sermon. When, behold! the most sweet Jesus with His own hands opened the wound in His side and St Francis was most clearly to be seen within His very breast. Then Jesus the most sweet closed the wound and kept the Saint within. The heretics, awakening, went forth on the morrow to find each other and each related to the other his dream. Then they publicly confessed to the Cardinals, who, as has been said, sent them to the Pope, by whom they were fully absolved.

After the sermon there came some newly enlisted

soldiers to the Pope, and he placed upon the head of each a wreath of flowers. Whence arose a custom that all who would become soldiers should receive their arms at this festival. On this occasion the Pope celebrated Mass in the open air on a table outside the church, because on account of the multitude of people he could not celebrate within.

Brother Peter of Tewkesbury.

When Brother Peter of Tewkesbury was Minister in Germany,[1] with the help of God he defended that state of the Order against the King and legate and many false brethren, so that the fame of his deed spread through many provinces, and zeal for the truth remained unconquered.

He won the particular affection of the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, from whom he frequently heard secret words of wisdom. The Bishop would

[1] During the Generalate of Crescentius there were troubles amongst the Friars in Germany, similar to those which had arisen in the Marches and other Italian provinces. *Cf.* Salimbene, *Chron.* (ed. 1857), p. 203. Adam Marsh speaks of the appointment of Brother Peter as Minister of Cologne in *Epist.* clxiii. Moreover, the Friars in the Province of Cologne met with strong opposition on the part of the clergy. During the Generalate of Haymo, Siegfrid, Archbishop of Mainz, had stirred up trouble (*cfr.* Wadding, *Annales*, ad an. 1239). That the opposition lingered on in 1249 is evident from a letter of Innocent IV., *devotos Dei*, 11th January 1249 (Sbaralea, *Bull. Franc.* p. 528).

sometimes say to him that unless the brethren fostered their studies and gave themselves diligently to the learning of the divine law, it would most assuredly happen to us as it had happened to other religious whom we see, alas, walking in the darkness of ignorance.[1]

His friendship with Bishop Grosseteste.

Now when Brother Peter was in Germany, Brother Mansuetus, Nuncio of the Lord Pope Alexander IV.,[2] told him how on the very day on which Pope Innocent IV. caused to be read in public audience the Brief, in which he declared against the Friars Preachers and Friars Minor on eight points,[3] he lost the power of speech, nor did he afterwards utter any words except these: "Because of his sin hast thou chastised man." But he very frequently invoked St Francis, for even when in health he had declared that from no other Saint

How Pope Innocent IV. is struck dumb.

1 Brewer has here inserted certain anecdotes concerning Bishop Grosseteste, taken from the margin of the Cottonian MS. These anecdotes I have put in Appendix I. (*A*).

2 Mansuetus was in England as nuncio in 1258. He is mentioned as such in *Pat. Rolls Hen. III.*, an. 1258, m. 9.

3 The brief "*Etsi animarum*," dated Naples, 21st November 1254. It is supposed to have been directed principally against the Friars Preachers at the instigation of Guillaume de St Amour. Alexander IV. revoked this brief by another brief, *Nec insolutum* of 22nd December 1254 (cf. *Anal. Franc.* iii. p. 278, note 5).

had he experienced so many favours. Now the Lord Pope Alexander IV., when he was Bishop of Ostia, had foretold that the Lord would quickly take Pope Innocent from their midst, because of the favours he bestowed to the prejudice of the Order. Yet when he was dying his whole household deserted him except the Friars Minor. In like manner were the Popes Gregory and Honorius deserted, and also Innocent,[1] at whose death St Francis himself was present. Brother Mansuetus also said that the Lord Pope Alexander IV. on the very day of his election suspended the Brief of Pope Innocent which had been issued against the Friars Preachers and the Friars Minor, and afterwards publicly revoked it. For Pope Innocent had decreed that all Friars should be excommunicated who allowed any of the parishioners of any church to be present at their Mass on a feast day; and so in other matters. Brother Mansuetus also said that no beggar (I will not say no man) died such a miserable and wretched death as a Pope.[2] He further related how a certain brother clothed in sackcloth was

[1] Innocent III.

[2] The fate of most medieval Sovereigns seems alike in this matter, but I think it was due not merely to the fact that they were surrounded by mercenary attendants, but to the terror of death which inspires people in the earlier phases of civilisation.

standing and praying in an oratory, when he saw a vast army of five thousand soldiers plunging into the sea, and the sea hissed as though they were burning brass. And one of the soldiers told the brother that it was the Emperor Frederic entering into Mount Etna. Now at that same moment the Emperor Frederic died.[1]

The devotion of Brother Mansuetus to the Eucharist.

The same Brother Mansuetus told how when he was a boy he was instructed by the Friars Minor to hold the blessed Eucharist in exceeding reverence. Therefore, whilst he was still a small boy, that he might worthily communicate on a certain Easter Day, he fasted almost the whole of Lent. And behold! on that very Easter Day, when all the people communicated, a certain wicked and infamous man named Getius went to Communion, and having received without reverence, immediately went aside and sat upon a bench and began to gossip with those standing near, being no more concerned than if he had but a morsel of bread in his mouth, when lo! Brother Mansuetus beheld the Eucharist go forth from the man's mouth and fall to the ground some distance away. Immediately Brother Mansuetus went and told the priest, a man very venerable, what he had seen, who straightway

[1] The reader will remember that in the Middle Ages Mount Etna was supposed to be the entrance to the infernal regions.

commanded him to go and search for the Host where it had fallen. And, going to search for it, he immediately found it in exactly the same spot, though for a long time the people had been passing by that spot as they went up to receive communion and returned. The boy therefore, with much reverence, received the said Host and all the consecrated Hosts which remained upon the altar, and was unspeakably confirmed in faith.

Brother Peter, the Minister of England, also related how he was on terms of great friendship with Sir Godfrey le Despencer and his family, and it happened once that he came to Sir Godfrey's house, and the son, named John, a mere child, as was his wont came to him and was most friendly. But when the boy had been with his mother to the chapel to assist at Father Peter's Mass, and afterwards had returned into the house, he avoided the said Father, nor could his mother by any persuasions prevail upon the boy to come to him. Whereupon the mother sought to know why he avoided the Father, and the boy replied that he had seen him eat up a baby at the altar in the chapel, and was afraid lest he should eat him up too![1]

How Sir Godfrey's son was afraid of Brother Peter.

[1] A similar story is told of Brother Peter of Brabant in *Chron. xxiv Gen.—Anal. Franc.* iii. p. 240.

Brother Warin of Ashwell[1] who entered the Order when quite a youth, made such progress in his studies that he lectured solemnly in many places and not without gaining the admiration of many people. Moreover, he manifested great wisdom in his dealings with great persons, and managed the affairs of the Order praiseworthily. In preaching and the love of contemplation he wonderfully excelled. He died before the altar at Southampton, at the ninth hour,[2] embracing the crucifix. Now it happened that at Salisbury a certain Brother John, who had long been dead, appeared to Brother Simon of Wimbourne, and said that he himself was in a state of happiness, and that Brother Warin had passed without any delay through purgatory and had come unto the Lord Jesus Christ.

Brother Warin of Ashwell.

To such perfection, indeed, had the English Province attained that the Minister-General, Brother John of Parma, frequently exclaimed when he was in England, "Would that such a province were placed in the middle of the earth that it might be an example to all the

Testimony of Brother John of Parma to English Friars.

[1] See a letter of Adam Marsh to Brother Warin, in which Adam Marsh regrets the employment of the Friars in secular employments (*Epist.* ccxliv. p. 407).

[2] *I.e.* at three o'clock P.M., the hour of the Crucifixion.

churches!" The same Minister-General it was who held the Chapter of the Province of England at Oxford, and confirmed the provincial statutes concerning the straitness and poverty of our buildings. When he gave the brethren the option of dismissing the Minister-Provincial or of confirming him in office, they unanimously petitioned that he should be confirmed.

Bishop Grosseteste preaches on poverty.

Brother William of Nottingham sometimes told how the Lord Bishop of Lincoln of holy memory, at the time when he was lecturing to the Friars Minor at Oxford, preached at a chapter of the brethren on poverty and in his sermon put the beggar's estate as the degree of poverty most nigh to the attainment of heavenly things. But to Brother William himself he said that there was yet a higher degree of poverty, namely, that of living by one's own labour. Wherefore, he said, the Beguins were the most holy and perfect religious because they lived by their own labour, and did not burden the world with their exactions.[1]

The same memorable Father also related how there was a certain novice who wished to fast, and

[1] Wadding (*Annales*, ad an. 1220) says that Grosseteste wrote two books for the Friars upon the subject of poverty; one beginning: *Pauper et inops laudabunt*; the other beginning: *Beati pauperes quia vestrum*, etc.

he informed his Master that he proposed little by little to see what he could do. Gladly the Master gave him leave. After he had gone on for some little while the Master would ask him how he was, and he would reply that he was well. But at length the novice began to fear lest he should get weak, and he spoke of his fear to the Master, who replied: "In God's name, go quickly and eat and drink or thou wilt fail, since already thy faith hath failed thee. For thus when Peter feared he sank."

How a certain novice wished to fast and failed.

Brother William used also to say that it behoved us to consider the mind of St Francis and his intention in giving us the Rule, otherwise we should gather superfluities into the Order, as insensibly as one's beard grows upon one's face. Also that we have to resist the oncomings of worldliness more than might be necessary, otherwise the world will bear us down farther than we desire, just as the river carries those who, wishing to reach the opposite bank, set their prow directly towards it.

That we must consider the intention of St Francis.

Further, he would say that a man never knows whether it will pain him to leave a particular place until he has to leave, just as he only realises that he has hair on his head when it is pulled.

Brother William on detachment.

He himself was very learned in the Holy

Scriptures, and zealously fostered the study of them with others. At table, outside the refectory, he would always have a reading from the Scriptures and with particular affection he would venerate the name of Jesus, and upon the words of the Holy Gospel he would ponder most devoutly. Wherefore he compiled some most useful notes upon one of the four books of *Clementine Homilies*, and caused these *Homilies* to be completely transcribed by the brethren.

His love for the Scriptures.

He sat long in meditation, especially after Matins, nor would he hear confessions or give counsel at this hour as his predecessors had done. He used to say that as it is a greater evil to lay down false principles of action than to do evil actions themselves, so wrong opinions concerning the state of the Order are worse than imperfect observances. With the greatest difficulty could he be got to listen to an accusation against another, unless the accuser were willing to say what he had to say in the presence of many witnesses; and above all other vices did he endeavour to avoid the vice of suspiciousness. He resolutely declined friendships with nobles and with women, and with a greatness of soul to be admired, held the

His piety.

Other sayings of Brother William.

wrath of the powerful to be of little concern in matters of justice. He would sometimes say that the great ones of the State by their counsels ensnare their friends, and that women, being deceitful and malicious, by their blandishments will turn the heads even of the devout. He spared no endeavour to restore the good name of those who were of ill report when he thought they had repented, and with much wisdom and insight he comforted those who were desolate in spirit, especially those who held offices in the Order.

His charity.

Now when he had governed the Province of England for about fourteen years, he was relieved of the Ministry at the Chapter of Metz, and was sent as a delegate of the Chapter to the Pope. But when he had come, with the Minister-General, as far as Genoa, his companion, Brother Richard, was struck down by the pestilence which was then raging, and, all the others taking flight, Brother William remained to console his companion, until he himself was struck down in like manner and died. Now the brethren, hearing that he had been relieved of the ministry, but not knowing of his death, held a chapter and re-elected him Minister-Provincial, but the Minister-General having heard that this was done more upon an impulse of affection than in calm

judgment, convoked the chapter again through the Vicar, Brother Gregory de Bossells, and commanded that no Friar who had been dismissed from office by the General Chapter should be re-elected in the Provincial Chapter; but he left the confirmation of the Minister-Elect to Brothers John of Keton, Adam Marsh and John of Stamford. Thus Brother Peter of Tewkesbury was elected and at the same time confirmed.[1]

Brother Peter of Tewkesbury elected.

Brother Peter it was who at first welcomed the Brethren of Penance of Jesus Christ[2] and recommended them to our brethren in the Chapter of London. These brethren had their origin in Provence at the time of the Council of Lyons, being founded by a certain novice who had been expelled from our Order. In the third year of Brother Peter's ministry there came to England the Friars of the Order of Martyrs whose founder was a certain Martin, who at Paris was made the butt of the German nobles.

The Brothers of the Sack, 1257.

[1] Brewer has here inserted the following paragraph, which seems of the nature of a marginal note:—"At the dismissal of Brother Elias, Pope Gregory was asked if he might be re-elected, and the Pope replied that he should not." Certain sayings of Brother William of Nottingham, taken from the margin of the Cottonian MS., are also put here, which will be found in Appendix I. (*B*).

[2] Also called "Brothers of the Sack."

APPENDIX I

(*A*) Certain Sayings of Bishop Grosseteste and of St Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury[1]

Bishop Grosseteste and foreign clerics.

Bishop Grosseteste once told Brother John de Dya[2] that he would take to himself six or seven clerks from Brother John's country and give them benefices in his church; and that these clerks, though they might be ignorant of the English tongue, would yet preach by their example. This proves that when he refused to institute those clerks sent over

[1] From the margin of the Cottonian MS.

[2] John de Dyva (Dya) is mentioned in *Patent Rolls Hen. III.*, ad an. 1256, m. 13. I incline to think that this John de Dya is the nuncio sent by the Pope to England in 1247 and whose arrival is chronicled by Matthew of Paris and Matthew of Westminster. According to Matthew of Paris, Bishop Grosseteste received Brother John with grief and astonishment and refused his demand for six thousand marks. Matthew of Westminster says he was an Englishman and Minister of Provence. The family name De Dya or De Dyva is English and occurs many times in the *Patent Rolls*; but the fact that Brother John was Minister of Provence when he came to England may explain

by the Pope, or the nephews of the Cardinals, it was not because they could not speak the English tongue, but because they came seeking temporalities. Wherefore when a certain lawyer said to him, "It is decreed by the Bulls," he replied: "Nay, it is decreed by dogs."[1] Then, rising up, he confessed in English before the persons presented by the Cardinals and struck his breast, at

Eccleston's statement that Bishop Grosseteste was willing to take six or seven clerks from Brother John's country, though they might be ignorant of the English tongue. In the *Patent Rolls* John de Dya is styled "the Pope's penitentiary," which points to his being a papal nuncio: for as nuncio he would have special faculties for absolving penitents. There is a letter of Adam Marsh (*Epist.* xcvi.—*Mon. Franc.* i. p. 222) advising a certain J. de Crakhale to seek absolution from Brother John, the nuncio. This Brother John—commonly styled *Johannes Anglicus*—is said by some writers to have governed the English Province during the absence of William of Nottingham, and he is even styled by them Provincial of England (cfr. *Collectanea Anglo-Minorit.* p. 67). It is possible this opinion arose from a misunderstanding of Matthew of Westminster: *Minister Provinciæ*, especially as by the middle of the fourteenth century, the province of Provence was merged in the province of Aquitaine (*cfr.* Eubel, *Provinciale*). The author of the *Collectanea* has himself further confused John the nuncio with John of Stamford, who succeeded Peter of Tewkesbury in the provincialate: and he again errs in stating that John the nuncio was Minister of Saxony when he came to England. He was Minister of Saxony from 1231 to 1233 and not afterwards (*cfr.* Glassberger, in *Anal. Franc.* ii. p. 54).

[1] "*Canones hoc volunt.*" "*Imo, canes hoc volunt.*"

the same time weeping and groaning; whereupon they retired in confusion.

Grosseteste and the Pope's chamberlain.

Another time a chamberlain of our Lord the Pope demanded from the Bishop a fee of a thousand pounds when he was visiting the Curia, saying the Bishop could borrow the money from the merchants; to whom the Bishop replied that he would not give occasion to the merchants to sin mortally,[1] but that if he arrived safely in England he would deposit the sum in the Temple at London, otherwise the chamberlain would not receive a penny.

A saying.

Another saying of his was this to a Friar Preacher: "Three things are needful to keep one in bodily health—food, sleep, and a jest."

Grosseteste and the melancholy friar.

He once enjoined as a penance upon a brother of a melancholy disposition that he drink a tankard full of the best wine, and when the brother had reluctantly drank, the Bishop said to him: "My dear brother, if you were given such a penance frequently you would of a surety have a better conscience."

Brother Peter of Tewkesbury has related how when the Lord Bishop of Lincoln was first pro-

[1] On account of usury.

moted to his See he was much in want of horses, and his seneschal came to him as he was at his books and announced that two White Monks had come to present him with two beautiful palfreys. But when he was urged to accept the palfreys and to declare the monks exempt,[1] he would not at all consent, nor would he even move from his seat, but replied, "If I accept these palfreys they may run with me at their tails to hell."

Grosseteste and the White Monks.

At times Lord Robert Grosseteste was so grievously displeased when the Minister-Provincial would not allow a certain brother whom the Bishop sometimes had to stay with him in his house, to stay there any more, that he would not converse with any other of the brethren, not even his own confessor. But Brother Peter told him that if he gave the brethren all his goods but still did not give them the affection of his heart, they would care nothing for these things. Then the Bishop began to weep, and said: "Shame upon you sinners, for that you grievously afflict me! For it is not possible for me not to love you, even if I set my face against you." In truth the brethren would be eating with him at his own table and yet he would not speak a word to them.

Brother Peter of Tewkesbury and Grosseteste.

[1] *I.e.* from episcopal jurisdiction in certain matters.

The Bishop told Brother Peter that places near the water were not healthy unless situated on a height. Sayings of Grosseteste.

Also he said that it greatly delighted him to see the patched sleeves of the brethren.

He said, too, that sauce is better with a little pepper than with ginger.

Again, he said that he rejoiced when he saw that his scholars did not absent themselves from the lectures which he had carefully prepared, since otherwise there would be wanting to him an occasion of vainglory, and he was unwilling to lose any of his merits.

Brother Peter of Tewkesbury also related how some clerks attached to the household of St Edmund besought a post for a relative of theirs who was a courier. But the Saint replied, "If his carriage is broken I will have it repaired out of respect to your wishes, or if it cannot be mended I will give him a new one; but know for a certainty that I will not change his post." St Edmund of Canterbury.

The same holy Bishop was once offered some precious gems, and his household urged him to accept them, but he replied: "If I take them, I might be hanged: between take and stake there is naught but one letter." [1]

1 "Si prenderem, penderem; inter prendere et pendere non est nisi una litera."

(*B*) Certain Sayings of Brother William of Nottingham [1]

There were certain of the brethren who held that they ought in no wise to contract debts; wherefore Brother William told me that they ought by no means to bind themselves to discharge a debt, nor to fix a date for the discharge, but that they could in conscience bind themselves faithfully to do what they could to discharge the debt. And he said there were a hundred cases in which the brethren might lawfully incur a debt.

Brother William on the contracting of debts.

Another saying of his was that a brother would not sin who handled money in distributing the alms of others to the poor.[2]

Other sayings.

Yet another saying of his was that he found it well to take a little recreation after holding Visitations, in order to divert his mind from what he had heard therein.

To me he once said that the sweet Jesus would raise up a new Order to stimulate our own Order

[1] These anecdotes, though they are recorded in marginal notes in the Cottonian MS., yet bear the impress of Eccleston's style.

[2] See the Rule of 1221, chap. viii.

in the way of perfection,[1] and this saying, I think was fulfilled when the Order of Penance of Jesus Christ was founded.

He had already in the Chapter of Stamford recommended the Friars of the Order of St Augustine to the charity of the brethren, and long before this had established a friendship between our brethren wherever they were, and the Friars of Mount Carmel, whom the Lord Richard de Grey had brought into England on his return from Syria. But the Friars of the Order of the most Holy Trinity had been long established in England.[2] This Order was founded by John, a Master in Theology, because of a vision he had of Jesus Christ one day during the Pontificate of Innocent III., whilst he was celebrating Mass in the presence of the Bishop and clergy of Paris.

Welcomes friars of other orders.

Brother William related how he once stayed for a long while at our convent in Rome, and the brethren there had nothing to eat but chestnuts,

[1] A similar saying by Hugo de Digna is found in Angelus de Clareno: "*Surget ordo catenarum tante perfectionis quod omnis preterita fratrum predicatorum ei minorum perfectis li comparata vilescet et quasi nulla apparebit*" (*Hist. vii. Trib.* in Ehrle, *Archiv.* ii. p. 282).

[2] The Brothers of the Sack settled in England in 1257; the Augustinians in 1254; the Carmelites in 1250, and the Trinitarians in 1224.

yet he became so fat that he was ashamed of himself. He further told me how, when he was still a youth in his father's house, many beggars came there to beg, and he would give then his own bread and then beg of them a crust in return, for it seemed to him that a hard crust received in alms for the love of God was sweeter than the delicate food he and his companions were accustomed to eat. Wherefore that they might thus sweeten their bread, he and other little boys would go and beg from each other in the name of God.

Brother William grows fat on chestnuts.

His early love of poverty.

APPENDIX II

Certain Incidents in the Coming of the Friars not related by Eccleston, but told by other Chroniclers

(*A*) from the "Chronicle of Lanercost"

"A.D. 1224. This year was the Rule and Life of the Friars Minor confirmed by the Lord Pope Honorius. And this year after the feast of the Nativity of the glorious Virgin, the Friars Minor landed in England at Dover. They were four clerics and five lay brethren, men simple and despised; for at that time all born fools differed but little from them in their fashion of dress. A certain parabolist said of them: 'If they are inwardly what they seem outwardly, I take them to be better than any others who walk the earth.' Of their contemptible appearance at their first coming take two instances.

"On their arrival in England they sought hospitality as mendicants at a nobleman's house near Dover, but they received it as strangers. For he locked them up in a strong chamber and bolted the

entrance, that he might take counsel in the morning with his neighbours and examine who they were. All weary as they were the brethren betake themselves to rest until daybreak and then, thinking to depart, they found the doors locked. They wait patiently until later in the day they are brought forth before a crowd of onlookers, who ask of them who they might be, and what might be their purpose in coming into this island. And when they had made known their purpose, one of the magistrates replied that they were spies and robbers. Whereupon a friar smilingly offered his cord and said: if you take us for robbers, here is a halter ready to hang us with. Upon this, the judges, returning to their senses, confessed that they who thus freely offered themselves to death, could not have any evil purposes.

"Another incident there was which happened not far from Oxford at the first settling of the friars there. For there was a knight who hated their manner of life and had used them bitterly, blackening their good name whenever opportunity offered. Now it happened on Christmas day that he who ruled over the brethren called them together to sow the saving seed of the Lord in the land. And as two of them were going forth into a neighbouring wood and picking their way along a rugged path over frozen mud and rigid snow, whilst the blood lay in

the track of their naked feet without their perceiving it, the younger said to the elder: Father shall I sing and lighten our journey? and on leave being granted, he thundered forth a *Salve Regina misericordiæ*. It so chanced that the knight, by no means in good humour with them, was following the same road, but without their knowing it. Now when the hymn was concluded, as the soldier saw the prints of the blood from their naked feet in the wood, he who had been the consoler said with a sort of self-congratulation to his companion: Brother was not that antiphon well sung? Whereupon the soldier, breaking in upon their talk; yes, by the Lord, it was; and may the Lord bless and prosper you who, like the Apostles, are patient in necessities and rejoice in tribulation. And at this word he slipped from his horse and asked pardon on his knees for the harsh judgments he had passed upon them."[1]

(*B*) FROM BARTHOLOMEW OF PISA, "DE CONFORMITATE," FRUCTUS VIII. PASS. 2

"In the province of England at Oxford lies Brother Agnellus of Pisa, first minister in England; glorious for his life and miracles. He was the

[1] I have closely followed Brewer's excellent rendering of this passage (vide *Mon. Franc.* i. p. 632).

first who built the convent at Paris, he being then *custos* of Paris. Nor would he, whilst he was yet a deacon, advance to priests' orders without the permission of the general chapter. Eventually being appointed by the blessed Francis first minister in England, he was sent thither by the blessed Francis, with four brothers, amongst whom was Brother Albert of Pisa,[1] who after Brother Agnellus himself, was minister of England and at length third minister-general after the blessed Francis.

"This Brother Agnellus with the aforesaid companions going to England, arrived on the third day of May,[2] and coming as far as Canterbury were received in the bowels of charity by the Friars Preachers who dwelt there. Then wishing to go to Oxford, about eventide they came to a certain grange belonging to the monks of the monastery of Abingdon in a vast wood which lies between Bath and Oxford; and not being able to proceed further on account of the floods, at that late hour of the day, they sought hospitality for

[1] This is incorrect. Albert of Pisa was minister in Germany at the time Agnellus came to England. The *Chron. xxiv. Gen.* (*Anal. Franc.* iii. p. 24), Glassberger (*Anal. Franc.* ii. pp. 14, 28) and Wadding (*Annales*, ad an. 1223), all make the same mistake (vide *Anal. Franc.* iii. p. 233).

[2] This too is an error, and has been followed by Wadding (*Annales*, ad an. 1219).

the love of God from the monks living in the said grange, lest they should perish of hunger and by the wild beasts of the wood. So the porter told the prior who was there with four monks, namely the sacristan, the cellarer and a certain youth; who seeing them and taking them for mummers and not servants of God, with reproaches turned them away and thrust them out of the gate. But the young monk, having compassion on them, said to the porter: For love of me, after that the prior and monks have gone to bed, do you send these poor men to the hayloft, and I will provide the rest. And when they were taken into the loft and were resting there, the youth brought them bread and beer, commending himself devoutly to their prayers. But the night following, whilst the young monk slept, he had a dream. And he beheld Jesus in the oratory sitting on a wonderful throne and all were summoned before the judgment-seat. And when all were brought thither, there came a certain poor man, humble and despised, in the habit of those poor friars, and he cried aloud: O most just Judge the blood of the Friars Minor which hath been shed this night cries unto Thee. For the guardians of this place have refused them food and shelter, although these [brethren] have left all for love of Thee and were now for Thy sake coming to seek the souls whom

Thou hast redeemed with Thy blood: yet to mummers they would not have given refusal. Then Christ with a terrible countenance, said to the prior: of what order art thou, O prior? who said: of the order of St Benedict. And Christ said to the blessed Benedict: Benedict, speaks this man truly? The blessed Benedict replied: He is a destroyer of my order, and his companions who are with him. For in the Rule I have commanded that the abbot's table should always be with guests: but now these contrary to the Rule have refused food and shelter. Then the Judge ordered that they, who were in that cloister, should be hanged from the beam. And when they were hanged, as it seemed, Christ turned to him who had shown mercy to His poor, repeating the same words as to the prior. But he, considering how the blessed Benedict had badly blamed his own, pondered for awhile within himself and then tremblingly made answer: Lord I am of the order of this poor man. Then Christ called the poor man and said: Francis is he of thine order? And Francis replied: Lord he is of my order, and from now I receive him. And when St Francis had embraced him and closely pressed him to himself, the youth awoke from sleep, and he was bewildered at the dream, especially because for the first time he had heard the name of Francis

and that from Christ; so he ran to tell the prior what he had seen, but when he had opened the door of his cell, he beheld him strangled and wholly deformed. With a loud cry, he ran to his fellow monks, whom in like manner he beheld dead. Then running to the friars he found that they had gone away in the early morning; for the porter from fear of the prior, had turned them out. Much moved, the monk went to tell the abbot of Abingdon. And whilst this word was told to all and was striking fear into all, the aforesaid four friars came to Oxford."

(*C*) FROM THE "LIBER DE LAUDIBUS"

Bernard of Besse, in his *Liber de Laudibus* (ed. Hilarinus a Lucerna, p. 44), relates the following story of Ralph of Maidstone: "The Father, Brother Haymo of holy memory, and formerly Minister-General, related that there was a certain prelate in England who was taken up, in vision unto the heavenly mansions, and he found there amongst the religious none of the Friars Minor. He was marvelling greatly at this when there came unto him the most beautiful of ladies—the most blessed Mother of God, who enquired what matter was troubling his mind; to whom the Bishop

replied that he marvelled why in that blessedness he saw none of the Friars Minor, whom the Church upon earth reputed so highly. She replied: 'Come with me, and I will point out to you where they dwell.' Then she showed him the brethren in close companionship with Christ the Lord. 'Behold,' she said, 'they are beneath the wings of the Judge; seek safety for thy soul with them.' The Bishop, considering the grace accorded him in this vision and the salutary counsel of the Mother of God, entered the Order of the Friars Minor, with the consent of the Lord Pope Gregory IX. . . . The said Bishop is believed to have been the Lord Ralph of whose entrance into the Order there is evidence, and who was a Master in Theology and Bishop of Hereford."[1]

Another story related by Bernard of Besse (p. 46), "without doubt," say the editors of *Analecta Franciscana* (iii. p. 221), refers to Ralph of Colebrooke. It runs: "Besides this Ralph (of Maidstone) there are said to have been two other Ralphs,[2] both doctors of theology, of whom one entered the Order at Paris in this manner. Once when he was studying he fell asleep at his book, and the devil appeared to him, and threatening to

[1] *Cfr.* Barthol. de Pisa, *De Conformit.* Fruct. ix. (*Anal. Franc.* iv. p. 429).

[2] Ralph of Colebrooke and Ralph of Rheims?

take away from him, his sight, said: 'I will blind thee with filth.' [1] The Master awakened and again fell asleep, and the devil a second time in vision threatened him both by word and by putting his fingers into his eyes. But the Master cast off the devil saying: 'Thou shalt not blind me, but I will blind thee.'

"And behold, the following day as he was sitting in the Reader's chair, he received a letter from a Bishop in England offering him a fat benefice. But he, interpreting the riches to be the filth with which the devil wished to blind him, leaving all things, entered the Order of the Friars Minor." [2]

[1] "Ego te cum stercoribus excœcabo."

[2] Vide *Chron. xxiv.*— *Gen. Anal. Franc.* iii. pp. 220, 221.

APPENDIX III

Concerning various Foundations mentioned in Eccleston

(*A*) the foundation in London

A very full account of the foundation of the Franciscan house in London is given in *Registrum Fratrum Minorum Londoniæ*, Cotton MS. Vitellius, F. xii.

Brewer in *Monumenta Franciscana*, i. has published that part of the Register which refers to the London foundation; also the lists of martyrs and other notable members of the Order. Stevens in his additions to Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* gave a translation and transcription of the Register in so far as it relates to the foundation of the London house, but his translation is marred by frequent inaccuracies. The new *Monasticon*, vol. vi., incorporates Stevens' translation uncorrected.

Another part of the Register edited by John Gough Nicholls was published by the Camden Society in 1852 under the title: *Chronicle of the*

Grey Friars of London. Howlett in *Monumenta Franciscana*, vol. ii., re-edited this Chronicle, inserting the marginal notes and names of city officers, which Nicholls omitted. It is a record of events from the beginning of the reign of Richard I. to A.D. 1556. It is valuable chiefly in so far as it relates to the religious revolution in the reign of Henry VIII.

Concerning the foundation in London the Register tells us that the Friars Minor came to England in the year 1224, landing at Dover "on the Tuesday after the conclusion [*i.e.* Second Vespers?] of the feast of Nativity of the glorious Virgin Mary, which that year was a Sunday": thus agreeing with Eccleston, whose very phrasing the Register here and there reproduces. The names of the four Friars who first came to London differ from those given by Eccleston in that Brother Melioratus of Eccleston is named Monacatus in the Register. These Friars were received at their arrival by the Dominicans, and lodged with them for fifteen days. "After this by means of spiritual friends they rented a house in Cornhill from John Travers, at that time Sheriff of London, and made for themselves little cells, which they inhabited till the following summer . . . during which time the number of brethren increased as did also the devotion of the people towards them. Wherefore

did the city remove them from that narrow and strait place to the place they now have in the parish of St Nicholas in the Shambles. For John Iwyn, citizen and mercer of London made it over to the commonalty of the city of London, but most devoutly assigned it to the brethren in accordance with the declaration of the Rule, for their simple use at the will of the owners. He shortly afterwards entered the order as a lay brother," etc.

Then follows the deed whereby John Iwyn executed his gift. It is an interesting example of this type of document:

"In the ninth year of the King Henry III.: Richard Renger being then mayor of London, John Travers and Andrew Bokerell, sheriffs. Be it known to those present and to come that I John Iwyn, citizen and mercer of London, have given, granted and by this my present deed confirmed to the commonalty of London, for the salvation of my soul, in simple and perpetual alms, all the ground with the houses built thereon, which I had in the parish of St Nicholas in the Shambles for the entertainment therein of the poor Friars Minor for as long as they will to be there; to have and to hold the said land with its appurtenances to the said commonalty and their assigns, as their own, freely, happily, quietly and peaceably for ever,

saving the rights of the lords of the fee. And I, the aforesaid John Iwyn and my heirs, will warrant and maintain to the said commonalty of London and their assigns the aforesaid land with its appurtenances against all men and women and will secure the same by the aforesaid services. And to the end that all the above-mentioned remain firmly secure, I have affixed my seal to this deed: these being witnesses: Richard Renger, then mayor; John Travers and Andrew Bokerell, then sheriffs; William Duke, alderman of that ward; William Bennetson; William Peter Fitzalyn; and others. . . ." [1]

"The second to extend mercy, by giving to the commonalty of the city of London for the habitation of the Friars Minor, the whole of his land which he held in Stinking Lane, was Joyce Fitz-Piers, formerly sheriff and alderman of the same city; which he gave for the salvation of his own soul and the souls of his ancestors. He enlarged all their land by granting them all his land which he then had in Stinking Lane: at which time Roger Duke was mayor of London, and Stephen Bokerell and Henry Cobham were sheriffs: in the

[1] Stevens in his additions to the *Monasticon* has, by an incorrect paragraphing of the text, dated this deed in the tenth year of Henry III. Brewer also has left the date open to question, through the same error.

twelfth year of Henry III. And note that this aforesaid ground extends to the wall of the city towards the north, as in the chart of the same is plainly shown."

Then follows a long list of citizens who made grants of lands and money to the city for the use of the Friars, down to the reign of Edward III.

The chapel built by Sir William Joyner, and enlarged by Henry Waleys, several times Lord Mayor, was replaced early in the next century by a finer building. First the choir was rebuilt in 1306 at the expense of Margaret, queen of Edward I., who was afterwards buried there. The nave was added at the expense of John of Brittany, Earl of Richmond, who was "the most especial father and friend of the Friars Minor," and of Mary, Countess of Pembroke, his niece.

The church was completed in 1327. It was 300 feet long, 89 feet wide, and 64 feet high. All the columns and the entire pavement were of marble.

The house was surrendered to the crown by Thomas Chapman, the last guardian, on 12th November 1539. On 24th July 1545 the reversion of all messuages within the precincts of the house was granted to Thomas West, Lord de la Warre (Dugdale (ed. 1846), vol. vi. iii. p. 1522).

(*B*) THE FOUNDATION AT OXFORD

The *Chronicon xxiv. Gen.* tells us: "the friars arriving at Oxford were honourably received by the King, Henry. He, inspired by God, gave them ground for the building of a place and leave to break down the wall of the city enclosure: and there they built a house for their dwelling. The said King also granted them to close up a royal road from his castle to St Frideswide, reserving to himself and his successors only the right of using that road themselves" (*Anal. Franc.* iii. p. 26. *Cfr.* Barth. de Pisa, *De Conformit.* in *Anal. Franc.* iv. p. 330).

From public records, however, it would seem that the Friars owed their house and ground more to the munificence of the citizens of Oxford than to the royal bounty, though undoubtedly Henry III. granted them many privileges. As Eccleston informs us, the Friars obtained their first dwelling from Robert le Mercer. Beyond the statement that this dwelling was in the parish of St Ebbe, there is no means of identifying this site: though Wood says it was "situated between the church of that parish on the north, and Water Gate and the towne wall on the south" (*City of Oxford*, vol. ii. p. 357, ed. Clark). The house which

Richard le Mulliner, or the Miller, granted them was, says Professor Little, "undoubtedly between the wall and Freren Street [Church Street]" (*The Grey Friars in Oxford*, p. 13). Some time between 1227 and 1229 the first enlargement of this ground was due to a deed executed by William de Wileford, whereby he gave to John Pady, the mayor, and other well-known men of Oxford, a house and ground in the parish of St Ebbe, "ad hospitandum fratres minores in perpetuum." This deed is in the City Archives. It is undated, but the mention of John Pady as mayor fixes the date between the years already mentioned. In 1236 Robert, son of Robert Oen, gave up his house to enlarge the ground of the Friars Minor (*Patent Rolls Hen. III.*, ad an. 1236, m. 5). But in 1245 the Friars obtained a large addition to this ground through the benefaction of Thomas de Valeynes or Walonges (*Feet of Fines, Oxon*; 29 *Hen. III.*, m. 40); and another grant of land was made them in 1246 by Lawrence Wych (*vide* Little, *The Grey Friars in Oxford*, pp. 298, 299. Professor Little gives the text of all these documents in full in Appendix A.). Other grants of land were made by Richard de Mepham, Archdeacon of Oxford in 1263, and by "Agnes widow of Guido" (Wood, *City of Oxford*, vol. ii. p. 357).

At the same time the Friars owed much to the royal bounty. The *Close Rolls Hen. III.*, ad an. 1231, m. 19, mention a royal gift of thirteen oaks to the Friars at Oxford for fuel. In 1245, at the time the friars were extending their grounds through the gifts of Thomas de Valeynes, the King gave them an island in the Thames, adjoining their new ground. He moreover gave them licence to enclose a street which extended from the Watergate to the postern near the castle (vide *Mon. Franc.* i. pp. 615-617). This is evidently the grant alluded to in *Chron. xxiv. Gen.*

It is noteworthy that the Franciscan School at Oxford was established by Agnellus of Pisa, a man trained by St Francis himself and in every way a disciple after his master's own heart. Agnellus, however, seems to have had as little love of scholastic dialectics as his master had, according to the story told of him in the *Chronicon xxiv. Gen.* (*Anal. Franc.* iii. pp. 26, 27): "Here [at Oxford] when Brother Agnellus had received many youths into the Order, he founded a school; and he besought the Lord Robert Grosseteste, then a venerable master of sacred theology at Oxford, that he would govern the schools of the brethren: who humbly assented and governed until he had a successor from out of the Order. But when the same Brother Agnellus came back

from a journey to that convent, he wished to learn how the aforesaid brethren progressed in their study. And seeing them in disputation he drew near, and he heard them disputing whether the proposition be true, that *God is*. Much troubled he said: Alas! the simple and the illiterate are transported to God and these learned ones question whether there is a God."[1] The Chronicle adds: "And because of this he closed the school."

Agnellus may at the moment have had some thought of closing the school; but evidently other counsels prevailed. According to Wadding, Agnellus sent to Rome and got a copy of the decretals, which he ordered the Friars to study instead of metaphysics (*Annales*, ad an. 1220). However the fact that Grosseteste continued to lecture shows that this order was not maintained. Very shortly too many university graduates entered the Order and their influence would make itself felt in the development of the Franciscan schools. (For the history of the school at Oxford *vide* Little, *The Grey Friars in Oxford.*)

[1] *Cfr.* Barth. de Pisa, *De Conformit.—Anal. Franc.* iv. p. 331.

(*C*) THE FOUNDATION AT READING

The deed dated 14th July 12(33), whereby the monks of Reading made over land to the Friars Minor, is given in the Register of the Abbey of Reading, and in *Charter Rolls* of 1233. By it the Abbot and monks grant to the Friars land in the culture, called Vastern, adjoining the high-road, measuring thirty-three perches in length and twenty-three in breadth, that they may there build and dwell so long as they have no property; and the Friars Minor agree that if at any time they have property or aught of their own, the Abbot and monks may eject them from the said land without contradiction or appeal; and the Friars will never require any other dwelling-place on the lands of the Abbey nor endeavour to enlarge their place, under the same penalty; nor will they ever require any support from the Abbot and convent, save what is freely given to them, under the same penalty; nor will they bury in their graveyard at Reading any bodies but those of the Friars Minor without special licence of the Abbot and convent, under the same penalty; nor shall they take any offerings, legacies, or tithes due to the Abbot and convent, under the same penalty; *but if the Abbot and convent expel them upon any other ground than*

those above mentioned, the King shall cause the said Friars Minor to possess the said land, so that they shall hold of his Grace, what they held of the Abbot and Convent.

It was this last clause which Albert of Pisa, when Minister-Provincial, would not allow.

According to the *Annales de Dunstaplia* (Rolls Series, p. 134) the Friars came to Reading with letters of recommendation from the Pope and the King. They also bore letters from the Pope to the Bishop of Winchester commending them to his protection "contra inimicos Christi." The annalist adds: "Et sic per instantiam multam impetraverunt locum ad inhabitandum ab invito abbate juxta pontem Redingis, quod reputatum est eis in signum transgressionis evangelicæ."

However, a fresh grant of land was made to the Friars by the monks in 1285, on which the Friars built a new house in 1306. The church was not completed till 1311 (vide *Reading Abbey*, by J. B. Hurry, pp. 33, 34).

The *Close Rolls Hen. III.*, an. 1234, m. 25 and m. 17, mention grants of timber to the Friars from the forest of Windsor.

APPENDIX IV

English Foundations of the Friars Minor not mentioned in Eccleston, but existing in his Time

Bedford: From letter of Adam Marsh, *Ep.* ccvi. p. 266 (Brewer's ed.), I conclude there was a house here in the time of William of Nottingham.

Bodmin: Founded by Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, in 1239 according to William of Worcester (*Itinerarium*, p. 99).

Bury St Edmunds: It would seem from *Annales de Dunstaplia* (Roll Series, p. 134) that the Friars first came here in 1233.

An unfortunate quarrel arose between the Friars and the monks of St Edmund's Abbey in 1256 regarding the building of a house by the Friars within the jurisdiction of the Abbey. The monks drove the Friars out of the house and these appealed to Rome. Alexander IV. ordered the monks to re-establish the Friars in a new house; but at the same time addressed a letter to the Friars in which he suggests that they were not without blame. At the accession of Urban IV. the monks at once sent delegates to Rome to urge their case, and the

Friars were ordered by the Pope to pull down their house and quit the place. The Friars obeyed, and moreover, on 19th November 1262, publicly acknowledged the rights of the monks. Whereupon the monks gave the Friars a new site at Babwell, outside the jurisdiction of the Abbey (cfr. *Memorials of St Edmund's Abbey* (Roll Series, vol. ii. pp. 263-285); for the letter of Alexander IV. to the Friars see *Mon. Franc.* ii. pp. 274-275).

CARLISLE: Founded 1232 (*Chron. de Lanercost*, ad an. 1232).

CHICHESTER: The *Patent Rolls* of 1252, m. 21, contain the confirmation of a grant by Richard, Earl of Cornwall, to the Friars Minor dwelling at Chichester of a close for the widening of their area.

COLCHESTER: In the *Patent Rolls* of 1279, m. 24, licence is granted to the Friars Minor at Colchester to build a conduit.

COVENTRY: According to the new *Monasticon* (VI. iii. p. 1333) the Friars were already established here in 1234.

DUNWICH: *Temp.* Hen.III. according to the new *Monasticon*, VI. iii. p. 1532.

EXETER: The new *Monasticon* (VI. iii. p. 1510) says the Friars were established here about 1250, and that the bishop, Quivil, made objections to their coming. There is an inquisition *ad quod damnum*

concerning the Friars at Exeter in 20th Edw. I., which probably refers to the changing of the site mentioned in Wilkin's *Concilia*, ii. p. 175.

LEWES: The house at Lewes is mentioned in *Assize Roll*, 909, m. 32, as existing in 1249. In 1253 the Friars of Lewes benefited under the will of St Richard of Chichester, who left them twenty shillings and a book of the Gospels of SS. Luke and John (*Sussex Arch. Coll.* i. p. 167).

LICHFIELD: Site given by Alexander Stavensby, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield about 1229, according to the new *Monasticon*, VI. iii. pp. 1531-1532.

LLANVAIS: Founded according to the new *Monasticon* before 1240. Mention of the Friars Minor at Llanvais is found in *Patent Rolls Hen. III.*, an. 1245, m. 2. and an. 1257, m. 3.

NORWICH: Founded in 1226 according to the new *Monasticon*, VI. iii. p. 1522 (vide *History of the Religious Orders of Norwich*, by John Kirkpatrick, pp. 104-129).

NOTTINGHAM: The new *Monasticon*, VI. iii. p. 1524, dates the foundation here in 1250; but the Friars were already in Nottingham in 1230. The *Close Rolls Hen. III.*, an. 1230, m. 4, mention a royal grant of timber for the building of the Friars' chapel at Nottingham. See also *Patent Rolls Hen. III.*, an. 1235, m. 4, where the King under-

takes to pay five shillings yearly as rent for the Friars' place.

RICHMOND (Yorks): Founded in 1258 according to new *Monasticon*, VI. iii. p. 1544.

SCARBOROUGH: Founded about 1240 according to new *Monasticon*, VI. iii. p. 1545.

In *Patent Rolls Hen. III.*, an. 1245, licence is granted to the Friars Minor who used to dwell at Scarborough, to build a house "in the area lying between Cukewaldhull and the watercourse called Milnebec." This probably refers to the removal of the Friars brought about by the Cistercians of Scarborough, with whom the Friars had much the same trouble as they had with the monks of Bury St Edmunds (vide *Epist. Grosseteste* (Roll Series), cix. p. 321; also *Mon. Franc.* i. p. 642).

STAFFORD: "Before Edward I." according to new *Monasticon*, VI. iii. p. 1532.

STAMFORD: *Close Rolls Hen. III.*, an. 1230, m. 18, make mention of royal grant of timber to Friars Minor at Stamford.

WINCHELSEA: The Friars were here in 1253, when they benefited under the will of St Richard (*Sussex Arch. Coll.* i. p. 167).

YARMOUTH: *Temp.* Henry III. (new *Monasticon*, VI. iii. p. 1523).

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